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The Progressive Review

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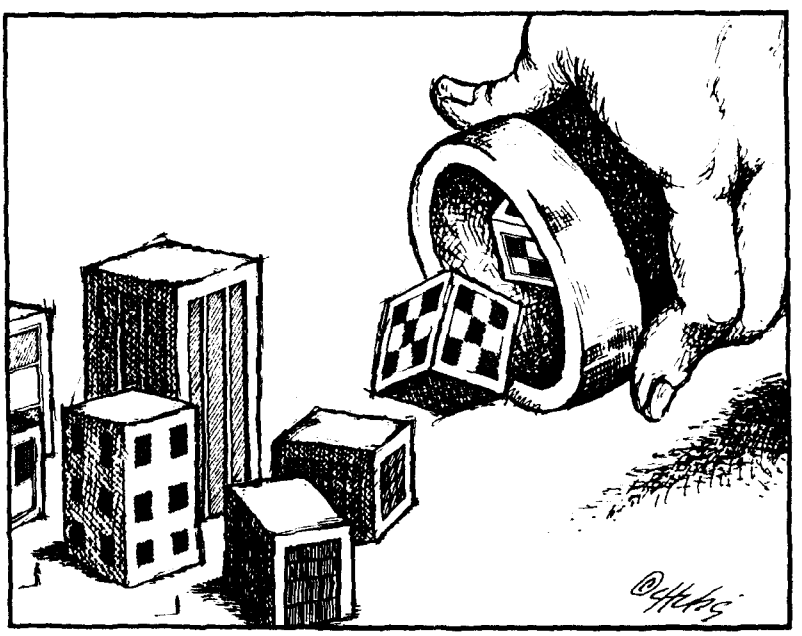

The Insurance Strike

SANCTUARY

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The Weather Report

The sexes

As part of its campaign to reduce the number of unplanned teenage pregnancies in their state, Wisconsin officials have adopted a law that holds parents financially responsible if their children under age 18 have babies. The law also allocates one million dollars for pregnancy counseling, bars clinics from telling parents of their daughter's plans for an abortion unless she consents to the notification, and repeals restrictions on the advertising and sale of birth control.

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The Minnesota supreme court ruled on December 5th that an unborn boy killed when an alleged drunken driver rammed his mother's car was not a human being under state law. Jannet Anne Johnson was 8½ months pregnant when the accident occurred.

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The nation's birth rate in 1984 dropped to its lowest point in a decade, said a Census Bureau report released on December 3rd. A spokesperson for the bureau's fertility statistics branch said the slump, which occurred during the height of a recession, may have roots in "economic considerations."

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A Census Bureau report says that almost half the households added in the US since 1980 were people living alone or with non-relatives. Nonfamily households now comprise 28% of all households in America. The number of people living alone has doubled since 1970.

•

Lots of changes at the National Organization for Women under the new leadership of Eleanor Smeal. Smeal, among other things, wants to campaign for a state ERA referendum in Vermont, a shift from NOW's formerly negative attitude towards state ERAs because they allegedly detracted from the national effort. Smeal apparently feels that the effort in Vermont and other states with upcoming ERA battles could lay the groundwork for another national ERA attempt. Smeal has also refinanced the organization's debt and reduced its operating budget, with its Washington office down from a staff of 40 to 26.

Smeal also hopes to regain the one-third of the members that NOW has lost over the past few years.

•

A poll by the Roper Organization taken last fall found that more than 70% of woman favor leaving decisions on abortion to the woman and her doctor. About 73% of women and 69% of men want to strength the role of women. In 1970, a similar poll found that only 40% of women felt this way.

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Politics

Jackson sees Democrats Pushing blacks out

Jesse Jackson has warned that if the Democratic party's move to the right is not halted, blacks and progressive whites will have no choice but to run for office as independents. Jackson, speaking in Philadelphia to a group of black legislators, also attacked the party's refusal to democratize its presidential selection rules. At the same meeting, Pennsylvania state senator Hardy Williams said, "The return that blacks have gotten for their loyalty to the Democrats has been minimal. It's a festering sore, and it keeps getting worse."

Liberal defectors

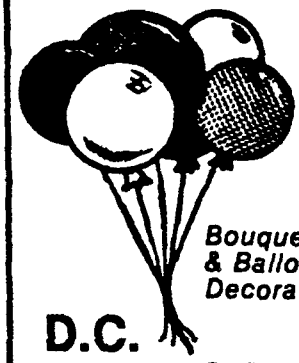
Writing in the Village Voice, James Ridgeway notes that a stunning number of progressive members of Congress defected from expected positions in both the fight over Gramm-Rudman and tax reform. Among those who voted against tax reform on the first (and recorded) vote were John Conyers, Ron Dellums, Gus Hawkins, Parren Mitchell, Pat Schroeder, Barbara Mikulski, Marcie Kaptur and Claudine Schneider.

Ridgeway blames pressure from the *American Federation of Government* Employees, unhappy over the bill's treatment of public pensions, for some of the curious divergences. Others were responding to locally important special interests.

Meanwhile, in the Senate, Gramm-Rudman won the support of the likes of Edward Kennedy, John Kerry, Albert Gore, Chris Dodd and Jay Rockefeller. Gary Hart, as noted before, opposed the measure from the start.

Writes Ridgeway: "The debate over fiscal policy is part of a massive reorientation of American politics away from the New Deal coalition. And rather than defend the New Deal, the very Democratic politicians whose existence depends on that coalition are the ones hammering the nails into its coffin."

While some of the liberals claimed that Gramm-Rudman protects such programs as Social Security, Medicare and welfare, Ridgeway says this isn't true, because once Congress has set its budgetary target, the fiscal plan will be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devised on the basis of the strength of various constituencies: "Gramm-Rudman frames the assumptions of debate. When did poor black mothers and their babies ever have a constituency on Capitol Hill?"

Jackson top black leader in poll

A poll sponsored by the Simon Wisenthal Center has found that 59% of all blacks surveyed listed Jesse Jackson when asked to think of "spokesmen for blacks who are well-known nationally." Thirteen percent named Andrew Young and nine percent named Louis Farrakhan.

Fifty-four percent of the blacks who had heard of Farrakhan thought well of him while 34% did not. Farrakhan rated most highly with those with the least education and income. Forty-one percent disagreed with the statement that "Jews have too much power in America," while 38% agreed.

Redistricting helps Chicago blacks, hispanics

In an historic shift in political power, Chicago's ward boundaries have been changed under court supervision in such a way as to significantly increase black and hispanic power in that city. Several commentators noted that the new divisions put hispanics in a powerful bargaining position with both blacks and whites.

Africa

Food and Africa

A report by the Council on Foreign Relations and the Overseas Development Council has called for long-term food aid to Africa, stretching out that continent's repayment of debts to the US, and a $250 million pledge to the World Bank's special program for Sub-Saharan Africa. The report also proposes giving food aid to pay for development work as is done in Asia and shifting the emphasis in aid towards aid to previously neglected small farms and women farmers. Other proposals are for research aimed at a green revolution in Africa, trade reforms and support of international population control programs.

In an analysis of what has gone wrong in Africa, the report includes these problems:

- Neglect of agriculture. African states spend an average of only 5 per cent of their budgets on agriculture. In Southeast Asia, by contrast, countries spend two or three times as much. Much of the money that is spent overlooks the small-scale farmers (a very large proportion of whom are women) who grow some 70 percent of the continent's food.
- Unwise and economically unfeasible industrial programs. State-controlled corporations were created to manage vast areas of economic activity, frequently with a high degree of centralization and costly subsidies, and almost always without skilled personnel. Many of these were regarded as primarily employment creators, and burgeoning state payrolls only drained resources further.
- Poor governmental economic policies, including those that kept food cheap in the cites but short-changed the rural areas.
- Corruption.
- Wasteful prestige projects.

The report points out that in the 1930s, America "faced a depression in its western and southern farm belts similar to what we see in Africa now. That economic and environmental crisis was ended by years of long-term congressional finance, work programs, large-scale soil and water conservation projects, and extension services to help farmers cope with new challenges."

Civil liberties

When Canadian environmentalist and author Farley Mowat was barred from entering the United States last April, many Americans were shocked. But Mowat is in good company, reports Mother Jones

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magazine. The list of writers who have been excluded or hassled at our border includes British novelist Graham Greene, Mexican novelist Carlos Fuentes, and Nobel Laureates Gabriel Garcia Marquez and Pablo Neruda.

The United States, says author Mark Schapiro, is "the only western democracy to exclude foreign citizens on ideological grounds."

Mowat and other "undesirables" are turned back from border under the provisions of the McCarran-Walter Act of 1952. The McCarthy-era bill, says Schapiro, has created what is probably the world's largest blacklist, a global computer network known as the automated visa lookout system. The act's exclusionary umbrella groups prostitutes, paupers, and the insane with ideological undesirables and homosexuals.

Health

Doctors are coming back to small towns. A survey of new medical school graduates found one in five plans to practice outside a big city--and one in three hopes to be a general practitioner. That's a reversal of trends towards more specialization and big-city practices in recent years. On the downside, 85 percent of the new graduates say they incurred significant debts during their med school years. The average is 30-thousand-dollars, a 13 percent jump over the average debt run up by members of the class of 1984.

Environment

Judith Penley, a worker at TVA's Watts Bar nuclear power plant, was shot and killed by a high-powered rifle outside a Cleveland truck stop in September. Colleagues and her lawyer, Albert Bates, believe she was killed because of her willingness to discuss safety problems at the plant.

"A whistleblower has been killed ... What did Judith Penley know? That question had better be answered before the plant goes on line," Bates said.

U.S. Senator Albert Gore, Jr. has called for an investigation by the FBI. Penley had escaped another ambush a few days before the fatal shooting. The day of the first ambush an interviewer, Mitzi White, hired by TVA to discuss safety problems with Watts Bar workers, was forced off the road in her car.
--*Northern Sun*

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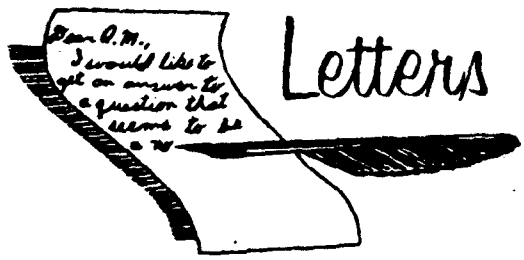
The Environmental Protection Agency says that more than two-thirds of the country's waste disposal sites are being closed rather than comply with federal environmental requirements.



E.B. White

Charles McDowell writes well himself, and wrote a nice piece about the late E.B. White.After reading Mr. McDowell's article, I opened "One Man's Meat," and immediately came across White's entry for June 1940:

"I have given up planning a perfect state for America, as it is too small a field. Henceforth, I shall design only world societies, which will include everybody and everything. Don Marquis began work on the almost perfect state but died before it came into being. I should let that be a lesson to me."

He wasn't just a writer. He raised chickens and sheep, and spoke his mind about the way the country, and world, was run, or should be run. He wrote about everyday things: family, home, neighbors, a boy's first dog. The pieces in "One Man's Meat deserve to be read, every few years, for the insight and good humor they will provoke. A man who raised chickens, and liked them, can't be all bad.

Charles Centerfit Hart
Gadsden Alabana

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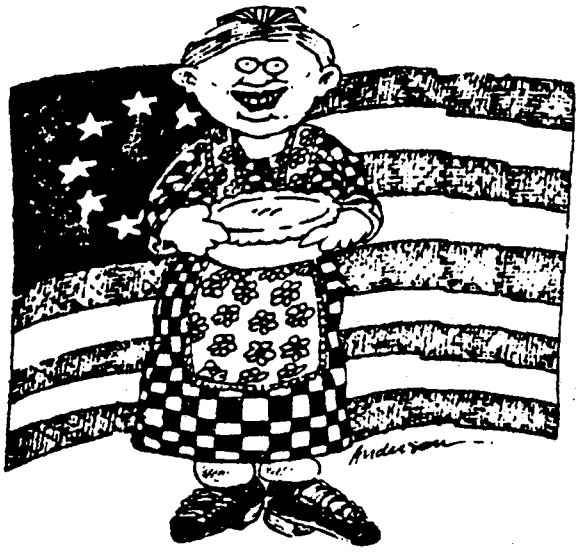

Apple Pie

Miami vices: Writing in Public Opinion, Ben Stein has come up with a remarkable list of complaints about "Miami Vice," based on watching every episode through last October. According to Stein, "Miami Vice" is:

• Anti-business: Through last October, not a single businessman shown on the program has been other than a criminal.

• Anti-federal government: In a typical episode Crockett and Tubbs, tracking down a killer, are thwarted by a "a fat, greasy, pig" from the CIA who wants to protect the killer for the CIA's own reasons. The DEA also causes trouble.

• Without confidence in the judicial system: Judges let criminals off, drug dealers buy their way out of jail. "If you want justice, you got to Crockett and Tubbs.

• Anti-hispanic and black: Save for Tubbs and Castillo, "the blacks and Cubans are not good citizens. . . Any time a Cuban or Columbian crosses the tube, he leaves a thick trail of cocaine behind." And blacks are depicted as too dumb for organizing large-scale crime.

Anti-women: "Whenever Crockett and Tubbs get involved with any woman from outside the Miami vice squad, the woman will always either be bad, or will be homocidally violent."

Concludes Stein: "'Miami Vice' . . . teaches its grim lessons with such flawless beauty. It is genuine art, Venus rising from the waves, and handing us, in her ivory, perfumed had, a bouquet of racism, nihilism and despair, wrapped perfectly in a Hermes silk square."

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The National Health Service in Zimbabwe has announced it won't pay witch-doctors for medical services.

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Following in the grand new tradition of "privatization," your federal government has sold the exclusive rights to use of the Statue of Liberty logo to 16 major US corporations for a total of $62.3 million. Huddled masses need not apply. Says Steven Briganti, vice president of the Statue of Liberty-Ellis Island Foundation: "We are proud of our corporate sponsors. The Statue of Liberty stands for everything America is. . . the capitalist system with appropriate use being made of commercialism."

NASA launched 12-million tomato seeds into orbit last year, with plans to bring them back in 1985 for distribution to teachers around the country for use in science labs. But the shuttle mission that was supposed to retrieve the canister last March was scrubbed, and every flight since hasn't had room to bring it back. The space agency now hopes to pick up the cosmic tomato seeds late next summer.

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HOLY phenomena occuring in N.Y. This occurence is equal to the manifestation of Joan of Arc, Bernadette or any other extraordinary occurence. This breakthrough is the result of the discovery of the physical existence of the human soul.

Artist Roger Henry working upon a new surrealistic abstract art form having to do with symbology using four triangles to represent the Saints, four circles as the Angels and four squares for the Gods, actually discovered a universal key to the physical existence of the human soul. When apply this key to The New Testament of Jesus he touched off this HOLY phenomena that is coming through upon 1,500 canvases. But due to the sophisticated attitude plaguing the art world today any painting having to do with Jesus is considered too heavy for the trade, resulting in a shutout of this major discovery. Through the ages artists have always touched upon things that go beyond the usual, but this sophistication is blocking this mystical penetration from coming out to the public.

The whole discovery is simply that Jesus could not teach the twelve men tha he selected; they denied, doubted and betrayed, so it took physical action to bring the one over to the twelve so that the twelve could then do as the one had done. The artist has discovered how to bring the one over to the twelve causing the message of Jesus to manifest physically. FREE VHS 1/2 inch video tape explanation available. Roger Henry, 2252 Westchester Ave, Bronx NY 10462.

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Peace

President Reagan's "Star Wars" has drawn heavy criticism on college campuses -- more than 2000 university researchers have signed petitions pledging not to work on it. But some of them may already be doing that without knowing it. The Pentagon's "Strategic Defense Initiative Organization" is side-stepping the touchy issue by cloaking the space-warfare contracts under different names. Spokeswoman Mary Peshak says there is no policy of informing scientists where their research money is coming from, and adds: "Why should we?"

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You may have noticed a less than full scientifically-oriented discussion about Star Wars. One critic, physicist Ray Kidder of Livermore, offered an explanation to the Los Angeles Times: "The public is getting swindled by one side that has access to classified information and say whatever it wants and not go to jail, whereas we can't say whatever we want. We would go to jail. That's the difference."

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Despite dire threats from Washington, the government of New Zealand has introduced legislation designed to exclude nuclear weapons from that country. According to Prime Minister David Lange, the legislation "establishes firmly and unconditionally that New Zealand will not under any circumstances play host to nuclear weapons."

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We have spoken previously about the handling of the death of Alex Odeh, the leader of an Arab anti-discrimination committee who was killed in a bombing of his office. But it was worse than we had imagined. The Des Moines Register, according to James Abourezk of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, actually ran this headline over a story on Odeh's death: "ARAFAT MAN OF PEACE" — BOOM."

Children

The Children's Defense Fund's national conference, on adolescent pregnancy prevention will take place February 26 - 28, 1986 at the Washington Hilton Hotel.

The three-day session will focus on policies, programs, services, and ideas for preventing teen pregnancy. More than 1200 participants from across the country are expected to attend. Info: (202) 424-9602.

•

In August the National Commission on Working Women published a report analyzing children and families on television. The report looks at network television entertainment programs to determine how they portray such everyday realities as child care, juggling home and job responsibilities, stretching the family budget, and balancing family chores.

According to the report's findings, such realities are nearly invisible on today's programs. Instead, viewers see families where money problems are nonexistent, high-powered working mothers are never fatigued or harried, and child care is not a problem. Furthermore, the report finds that most TV children live with single parents, almost half of all TV families are upper middle class or wealthy, and none of TV's single mothers are working class or poor.

"Prime Time Kids" is based on a survey of all network shows which featured children as continuing characters. Specific findings of the July, 1985 monitoring period include:

- No black children on TV (except those on "The Cosby Show") live with their natural parents, and 80% of all black TV children are upper middle class or wealthy. In reality, black children live in a variety of family settings and 1 out of 2 black children lives in poverty.
- Over half of all TV children live with their fathers, who experience no difficulties being a single parent. In reality, 90% of all children in single parent homes live with their mothers, whose average annual income is under $9,000.
- Child care centers do not exist on television. Moreover, TV's young children with working parents are either too self-reliant to need supervision or are automatically cared for by loving relatives or live-in help.

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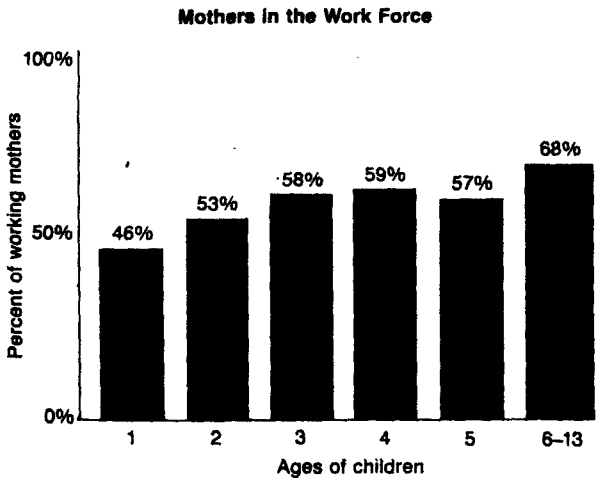
Child Care Fact Sheet

In 1984, 60.5% of all women with children under 18 years old worked outside the home.

The highest increase in the rate of labor force participation was in women with children under 3 years old.



Cites: Bureau of Labor Statistics
Conference Board
Children's Defense Fund

In 1984, 1 in every 4 mothers in the work force was maintaining her own family.

Women work out of economic need. In March 1985, over 6.3 million women with children under 18 years old were single, divorced, separated, or widowed.

In 1984, out of 6 million U.S. businesses of all sizes, only 2000 gave support to employee child care needs.

According to a 1985 Conference Board report, employers provided a variety of benefits for their employees:

- **On-site care.** Employer operates or provides care in or near the workplace.
- **Subsidies or vouchers.** Employers provide their staff subsidies or vouchers which they may redeem at a center or at the caregiver of their choice.
- **Discounts.** Employer arranges discounts for employees at selected child care programs.
- **Flexible benefits ("cafeteria plan").** Employee selects child care among other benefits.
- **Spending accounts (salary reduction).** Employee takes reduction in income and pays for child care out of a non-taxable account.
- **Information and referral service.** Employers devise an in-house information and referral system or contract with an outside company to provide one.
- **Establishing family day care homes.** Company recruits and pays for training and licensing of a caregiver who provides care for employees' children.
- **Sick child care.** Employer provides care for sick children through in-home nursing services or sick child care infirmaries.
- **Alternative work patterns.** Employer policies include: flex-time, job sharing, family leave, and parental sick leave.

Women leaving work for childbirth and care of infants

In 1984, 60% of all working women had no paid "parental (maternity) leave."

Paid time off from work to accommodate pregnancy and childbirth is called disability leave. Only 40% of women in 1984 were covered by some form of disability insurance or an employer's paid parental (maternity) leave policy. The Pregnancy Disability Act of 1978 prohibits discrimination because of pregnancy and requires insured wage compensation for the period (usually 6 to 8 weeks) a woman cannot work, if her employer provides other kinds of short term disability coverage. Some employers have a paid or unpaid "parental leave" policy (generally 4 to 16 weeks) which allows a woman time off from work to care for her newborn child. Women who are not covered by any policy often must use a combination of sick days, vacation days, and leave without pay during this period.

More than 3 million American children are cared for in church-housed child care programs every day.

According to the National Council of Churches, up to 70% of all child care centers in the United States are in church buildings. Half of these programs receive free space, involving multi-million dollar subsidies by congregations.

National Commission on Working Women 2000 P St. N.W., Suite 508, Washington, DC 20036 202-872-1782

Our National News Continues Page 28

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Numbers crunch the Astrodud

Long-time readers will recall that we spent the better part of a decade editorializing against the construction of a convention center, arguing among other things that the revenue projections were extremely and perhaps deliberately unrealistic. Now that the center has been in business for several years, the facts can no longer be hidden in the shade of consultant reports. Here is what we find:

In 1977, Gladstone Associates predicted that the convention center would lose about $1 million in the first year and about $500,000 annually after that. Gladstone assured the city that "this conclusion was derived and tested not only from the operating statements of other centers and from interviews with center managers, but also by preparing several hypothetical proforma statements for the District center." In fact, the center has lost about $6 million a year since it opened, not counting an additional $6.3 million in debt service. This is approximately twice as much as the next most deficit-ridden center of the same vintage — the Moscone center in San Francisco.

This is not, mind you, because the convention center is underused; center officials, at least, describe it as fully booked. For one thing, of five contemporaneous centers, DC's has the highest expenses: a whopping $9.8 million in 1984, two million more than the second place Georgia World Congress Center which is 70% bigger and put on three times as many major convention and trade shows. In addition, the DC convention center has relied heavily on nickel and dime exhibitions and meetings to fill its halls. It has the lowest number of major conventions and trade shows of any of the five centers as well as the lowest occupancy rate. Many of its events were, or could have been, housed in existing facilities elsewhere and are local in nature so add little to the city's tax revenues. To a certain extent the convention center has simply taken business away from

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How the Astrodud compares

CENTER	SIZE Sq. Ft.	OCCUPANCY RATE	TOTAL ATTENDANCE Millions	TOTAL EVENTS	MAJOR CONVENTIONS SHOWS	REVENUES Millions	EXPENSES Millions	LOSS Millions
WASHINGTON	378000	64%	1.1	154	20	$3.90	$9.80	$5.90
NEW ORLEANS	381000	85%	0.4	32	28	$4.00	$7.00	$3.00
SAN FRANCISCO	260000	77%	1.2	61	25	$3.30	$6.50	$3.20
LOS ANGELES	375000	70%	1.6	500	46	$10.00	$7.70	($2.30)PROFIT
ATLANTA	640000	94%	1	N/A	62	$7.20	$7.80	$0.64
DC'S RANK	3rd largest		Lowest 3rd highest	2nd highest		Lowest	2nd lowest	Highest	Highest

Despite a high overall attendence and a large number of total events, Washington's convention center brings in the the second least amount of revenue and the has the highest expenses of any of the five centers of the same vintage. All figures are for fiscal 1984 except for New Orleans which opened in January 1985.

major hotels and facilities such as the Armory.

Of course, the old familiar argument of tax blessings continue to be made, an alleged $26 million (more than double even what Gladstone claimed) including such questionable items as the hotel occupancy tax (really a convention center use tax), income tax revenue from new hotel employees (which assumes the convention center is the only reason a hotel is built in downtown Washington), and increased tax revenues from land in the vicinity of the center.

In addition, the city's one-sided accounting leaves out the tax revenue lost from more than 80 businesses previously occupying the land in question, from employees working there, residents living there and customers shopping there. Further, you should reduce the figure by the business lost to the convention center by other local facilities. Finally, throw in the costs of fire, police, sewer and other city services for the center. Added to the $12.3 million costs of carrying the center each year, these factors bring the tax benefits down to a level where one could begin to wonder whether they even exist.

Looked at another way, what the city is doing is subsidizing downtown hotels and businesses at $10 for each day a delegate is in town, in other words: an extraordinary subsidy of $3600 per delegate-year. The amount of the deficit is enough to pay for single apartments for 2500 homeless people at $400 a month.

Of course, some people have made money out of the convention center, including those developers (such as a corporate sister of Gladstone Associates, the outfit that made those glowing predictions in the seventies) who bought and built in the area, but here again the element of desirable public purpose appears to be lacking.

Many of these figures (including those in the accompanying chart) come from the December 16 Washington Post. Since the Post was one of the most assiduous backers of a convention center, we assume them to be correct. We further assume it is why the Post buried them in the business weekly, where it puts stuff about the city it doesn't feel non-members of the Board of Trade should know.

POLITICS

Five Democrats are in the race to succeed Mike Barnes in the House, including long-time Metro enthusiast Carlton Sickles. Other candidates are Leon Billings, a former senate staffer; state senator Stewart Bainum; Montgomery Councilmember Esther Gelman; and Ford executive Wendell Holoway.

•

Fairfax supervisor James Scott has demonstrated at the South African Embassy, proposed that the county's

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pension fund disinvest in South Africa, and suggested that some of the county's surplus funds to be used to feed the African starving. He has also been an advocate of public housing in the county. A four-term supervisor who has never won by more than 53%, Scott now faces the prospect that the Republicans in control of the board, will hit his district hard when district lines are redrawn this year. Democratic board vice chair Martha Pennino foresees an attempt to "increase Republican domination of the board," but a GOP member says, "We're not known for political redistricting in Fairfax County." Watch that space.

•

Virginia's lieutenant-governor-elect Doug Wilder has formed a PAC for underdogs from around the country with some $50,000 left over from his campaign. Wilder's campaign manager, Paul Goldman, says many of the out-of-state congratulatory phone calls came from would-be candidates who wanted some advice. Goldman says the PAC will not give cash —there's not enough of it, but will pay for his services and those of others to help in campaigns. Wilder, the first black to win high office in the south since Reconstruction, will not use the fund just for minority candidates, says Goldman.

•

From a Tom Sherwood piece on Charles Robb: "Robb also is known for his caution, sometimes taking it to a ridiculous degree. In his 1981 campaign, Robb stopped by a Portsmouth barber shop and remarked, 'Well,I have never used a hair dryer myself (long pause). . . but I don't have anything against those who do.'"

•

Prince Georges delegate Thomas Mooney has dropped his opposition to the unification of Takoma Park under Montgomery County. Mooney, who has changed his mind once before on the matter, says he was convinced by the overwhelming support TP voters gave to unification. Said Mooney: "I've come to my final resting place on this issue. . . I don't want to hold 8000 people hostage. They want to go."

•

R. Scott Fosler, a sometimes lonely voice on the MC council against overdevelopment in Montgomery County, has announced that he will not run for reelection. Fosler who was a 1970s activist in the Chevy Chase and Friendship Heights Development battles also cast the only 1984 vote against a county land use plan, saying "I'm concerned that we may be endangering our own economic health."

Fosler plans to concentrate on his private career. His departure, along with that of David Scull, who is running for county executive, and Esther Gellman, who is running for Congress, makes a major shakeup in the character of the MC Council likely.

•

Maryland State Senator Sidney Kramer and Montgomery County councilmember David Scull, both seeking the county executive spot, are already in a debate over debates, with Kramer accusing Scull of ducking them and Scull saying it's too early. Scull wants a party-sponsored debate in the spring. Also in the race is Dave Robbins, the county recreation director. Filing deadline for the race is still months away.

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Several hundred people tromped through Ted Gay's Ward Six Christmas party, giving encouragement to plans to run against Nadine Winter this year, with an announcement expected in February.

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The Senate is now requiring publication of how much its members spend on mass mailings. Second place in the first reporting period went to Arlen Specter, who's up for reelection and spent $780,000 in three months. Probably was telling his constituents about the wonderful new prison he wants to build in DC.

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We failed to note in our roundup of last

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Maryland polls

POLLS	OCTOBER	NOVEMBER	DECEMBER
MARYLAND SENATORIAL			
MIKULSKI		38%	33%
HUGHES	29%	18%	18%
BARNES		16%	15%
HUTCHINSON			14%
MARYLAND GUBENATORIAL			
SCHAEFER	53%		57%
SACHS	22%		26%

November's election results that Sharon Levy of the Takoma Park Nuclear Freeze Task Force was elected to the city council for the first time.

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Mattie Taylor, a former school board member, says she is planning to run against DC Mayor Barry this year. Glad to see not everyone's chicken.

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HOUSING

Homeless in the suburbs

Although local media attention have focused on the plight of the homeless in DC, last winter Montgomery County housed over a thousand persons and had to turn away another 700. Montgomery County has nine shelters but officials say that they will still not be enough to meet the current demand.

Renters turned out in Alexandria

Some 5000 apartments in Alexandria will be renovated or torn down by 1988 according to a report by the city's Office of Housing. Renovation is already underway or planned on 2000 units. And this year some 3000 residents of Arlandria may have to get out for developer upscaling of that neighborhood. The apartment vacancy rate is running about 1% so the evicted will have to look elsewhere.

Among those sure to be hit hard are families with children since some 18% of the city's 36,000 rental units don't permit children and another 73% have restrictions on the number allowed.

Clarke pressures mayor on homeless

Dave Clarke, putting pressure on the mayor, helped to free up a quarter million dollars to repair the CCNV shelter for DC's homeless. Clarke also urged the mayor to drop his court case against the overwhelmingly passed initiative calling for shelter for all homeless persons. Although 72% of DC voters approved the measure, the mayor's reaction has been to take the matter to court.

Meanwhile, New York City is spending about $200 million a year to take care of 22,000 persons a night. NYC also has a program in which a team consisting of a psychiatrist, a social worker and nurse, travels around the city offering emergency aid to individuals who appear to be a danger to themselves or to others.

The $250,000 added to the kitty for volunteer-staffed shelter is a bargain for the city: according to Clarke, the city itself spends $22 a night to care for people, so if it had to do the job of caring for the 700 people now helped by the Community for Creative Non-Violence, for example, the money would be gone in two weeks.

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SWAMPOODLE'S REPORT

Twice recently we have received no mail at our office. The second time it happened we called the post office at about four pm to find out what was the matter. The voice at the other end said, "The carrier ran into some problems — then it got dark so he came back in." Let's see, isn't there a saying about that?

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We noticed in stories about the Donaldson affair mention of a "light contract" with the city. Given the fact that many, including the city auditor, are wondering how much deeper the corruption goes, you might want to consider this hypothesis: if it's got a nickname, it's widespread.

•

Most astounding news release of the month began "The District of Columbia officially became a chartered state in the Future Farmers of America Association at the 58th National FFA Convention in Kansas City, Missouri. . . The National FFA Board of Directors moved to receive and grant the charter after reviewing the proposed association's constitution, bylaws and program of activities. In addition, the District meets the statehood requirement of at least four chapters and 125 members, with its five chapters and 129 members." The DC future farmers are, the release tells us, "located in an urban area" and thus concentrate on horticulture, floriculture and landscaping.

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Historic sidebar: Jelly Roll Morton, the jazz composer and pianist who would have been a hundred years old this year, lived for three years in DC (1935-1938) and operated the Music Box nightclub at 1211 U Street NW, near the Lincoln Theatre. It was during this period that Jelly Roll recorded his famous reminiscences and piano solos for the Library of Congress.

•

If there is no free lunch you couldn't convince the hundreds of DC's Ward III residents who poured into the Intelsat building on Connecticut Avenue for the mayor's Christmas party for the ward. Food was provided and catered by local business friends of the mayor and the lines for the raw oysters, fried wontons and other goodies were long and patient. It looked like an upscale version of one of Mitch Snyder's operations and several well-heeled politicos were seen departing with left-overs.

•

The logo above comes from the old Heurich Brewing Company, but also from the new. Christian Heurich's grandson, Gary Heurich, is starting a small brewery to sell Olde Heurich Amber Lager. The beer, which initially will be produced in Pennsylvania, should hit the local market in March.

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The Prince Georges County Council has decided not to name George Palmer Highway after Martin Luther King. The proposal, which would have required a poll of residents and businesses and the concurrence of 51%, was turned down 5-4 after a 20-minute debate. The six mile road runs through two predominantly black communities.

As councilmember Hilda Pemberton said, "The fact that most council members don't know who George Palmer was is reason enough (for changing the name.)" Palmer, in fact, was a former county commissioner, county Democratic chair and a founder of a now defunct savings & loan, who died in 1941. He also owned a lot of property along the highway.

The country Chamber of Commerce opposed the change saying that it would cost the businesses along the road too much for new stationary.

•

That sting operation in which the hoods were fooled into thinking they were getting free tickets to a Redskins game made good television, but consider this: some three thousand invitations were mailed out and only about 100 wanted criminals fell for the scam. What happened was that the US Marshalls snared the 100 most gullible crooks in town.

•

The fellow who flew those banners reading "John 3:16" at Washington Redskins games is suing RFK Stadium for barring them this year. Evangelist Rollen Stewert, who wears a rainbow wig, says that violated his constitutional rights of free speech, freedom of religion and equal protection.

•

Josiah Swanpoodle

Purveyor of fine split infinitives for over 48 years

TRANSIT

The Green Line quandry

With the Reagan administration planning to "zero out" Metro funding starting this year, it would appear that what was once considered a highly cynical prediction about the subway could come true: namely that the line serving Transanacostia and the upper inner city may never be built.

For reasons that were never adequately explained, the line serving the poorer parts of the region was shoved to the back of the Metro agenda. Now it is in serious trouble.

It is likely that the Barry administration and Metro will make every effort to build at least a partial stretch of the Green Line. Ironically, however, they may not be doing the citizens across the Anacostia that much of a favor. This journal has argued from the start that there were cheaper and more effective ways of providing mass transportation than building a subway. This is especially true in a low density, low employment, low car ownership area such as Transanacostia. The subway works best as a downtown circulator and to bring to the city suburbanites who can reach Metro stops by car. Further, Metro best serves those who work in concentrated office developments near subway stops, and far less well for those who need access to industrial and retail employment in the suburbs.

Unfortunately, the subway-centered planning philosophy has so gripped the whole city that it would be politically untenable to suggest, for example, that one could build several times as many miles of light rail in Anacostia as one could of a subway for the same dollars. There are many other options, including exclusive bus routes, jitney service to suburban employment centers, and true priority bus lanes such

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as have never been tried in this city. These lack the glamor of the subway, however, and would probably not be considered a fair alternative. Yet, such unglamorous alternatives could provide the area with a far better transit system than it will get from one sleek subway line — should it ever be built.

Metro finally improves bus signs

Metro may finally be ending its long tradition of running the only secret bus system in the world. It has announced, although only on an experimental basis, mind you, a program of new signs for the C2, 1, 8, D2:8 bus routes which will include such information as information on fares and schedules and a route map for buses that serve each bus stop. Although such a program has been suggested for years by consultants and others (including this journal), Metro could never find the time or money to give bus riders the basic information they need.

Insurance blocks rail idea

Elsewhere in this issue, Jim Ridgeway writes of the strange things going on in the insurance business. Some are calling it an insurance strike. The story has come home to those promoting commuter rail service between Manassas and Fredericksburg: Associated Press reports that lack of insurance is threatening the project. Northern Virginia Highway Commissioner Joseph Guiffre says organizers can't find anyone to insure the railroad for losses of less than $5 million.

Montgomery County taxi licenses up to $25,000

Recent testimony before the Montgomery County Council revealed that cab drivers are buying taxi licenses for as much as $25,000. The reason is that Montgomery County has a lid on the number of taxis — 384 — and so there is a market in medallions similar to what happens in New York City, where the price can be as high as $100,000. In DC, on the other hand, efforts to introduce such a limit, with the inevitable trafficking in licenses that would follow, have so far, fortunately, been defeated.

Georgetown Spur

The potential transformation of the "Georgetown Spur" railroad track that extends from Silver Spring to Georgetown into a new recreational/commuting trail will be the subject of a slide show and presentation on Feb 25 at 730 pm at the Chevy Chase Library. Nicknamed the "Bicycle Beltway," the 11-mile route being abandoned by the Chessie System would offer outstanding biking and hiking opportunities in a congested area of Montgomery County. The route's conversion to a biking/hiking trail is not assured because of competition for the land. The land has been eyed for development or for road construction, or for use as a light rail or bus line.

ECOLOGY

Flood hit canal hard

The National Park Service says it may take years to repair the damage caused by last fall's flooding. Damage is estimated at $9 million, with many large breaks in the canal and washouts of the towpath. The flooding brought 500,000 tons of sediment downstream. Normally during the month of November only 7500 tons are deposited.

DC Lawyers Guild: The DC Lawyers Guild will present its 1986 award to Selma Samols and to Charles and Hilda Mason at a dinner at the Washington Plaa Hotel on Feb. 22. Info: 293-7621

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The Potomac Basin Reporter says that "the degree of stress that the flood has placed on the river's aquatic communities is uncertain. . . Much of the existing habitat has been altered or destroyed, either by being washed away or covered over by a layer of silt and mud. Local fishing guide Ken Penrod said that he feels 'a little concerned' about the effects the flood may have, but also noted the resiliency of the Potomac fishery. . .

"The basin is fortunate that the flooding did not occur in spring, during spawning or when a lot of fish larvae were present. The flood also came at a time when hydrilla and other submerged vegetation was dying off for the winter, so the flood's effects won't be known until next summer."

Potomac continues progress

The Water Resources Planning Board of COG reports that the Potomac River got cleaner in 1984 although excessive phosphorus and nitrogen was found in the upper reaches. These problems were lessened by a dramatic reduction in the amount of phosphorus being released into the river from treatment plants — down 62% from 1983. Too much phosphorous greatly increases algae in the river.

On the other hand, the Anacostia continues to have "serious water quality problems" due to erosion, sedimentation and human waste.

Meanwhile, the DC city council approved a measure that would prohibit the sale and use of cleaning materials containing more than minimal phosphorus compounds, a move that could save the city up to $2 million through reduced sludge creation, as well as helping ease river pollution.

Pro-Choice march planned

NOW is organizing what it hopes will be a huge march March 9 to demonstrate support for freedom of choice on birth control matters.

CIVIL LIBERTIES

Va. ACLU targets registration

The Virginia ACLU says voter registration will be its top priority during this session of the General Assembly. The organization will push for legislation allowing voters to register anywhere in the state, to allow some state employees to serve as registrars and to notify voters before dropping them from the electoral rolls.

Other issues for the ACLU include defeat of efforts to require parental approval for teenaged abortions.

US. court okays paying petition collectors

Federal court judge Norman Ramsey has struck down a Maryland law barring payment to persons to collect signatures on petitions. Ramsey said the law violates the First Amendment. Robin Ficker, Montgomery County referendum afficienado, brought the case after he had been warned that he might be subject to prosecution for paying workers to collect signatures. Ficker says he's got some ideas for the 1986 ballot but isn't revealing them yet.

CITYSCAPE

Montgomery Council clings to planning power

Montgomery County Executive Charles Gilchrist's proposals to increase executive power over county planning ran into stiff opposition on the county council. One councilmember called the move a "power play," and the history of planning in neighboring DC, where the executive has broad planning powers, suggests that this view is correct.

Gilchrist wanted veto power over subdivision regulations, master plans and

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zoning law amendments and the right to appoint members of the planning board.

In DC, the excessive power of the executive has been one of the major causes of runaway development in the city. The council has played an unusually weak role in planning and zoning and as a result citizens have often found themselves without political representation in planning and development disputes.

New aerospace center in SW DC
Ground has been broken for a $55 million aerospace center to be built by the American Institute of Aeronautics and Astronautics at 9th & D SW. It will be a ten story building and the mayor claims that at least 51% of the Institute's new employees will be DC residents. Should be finished in 1987.

Texans in town
Paying prices that local developers wouldn't, a number of major Texas developers are beginning to make an impact on downtown Washington. The New York Times reports that "they are taking over some of the 'bad parts of town,' hoping the gentility of their shiny new stone and glass structures in otherwise rundown neighborhoods will attract pin-striped tenants." One major target is the vicinity of Franklin Square, where Texan firms Cadillac Fairview, Trammell Crow and Gerald D. Hines are each putting up buildings.

Roses & Thorns

Thorns to the Barry administration for its tow-away policy in Georgetown. On a recent Saturday night visit there, we noticed cars being towed away that were not anywhere close to one of the new no-parking signs that are in force on weekend nights. Further, nearby were normal parking signs that said nothing about the night-time ban. Seems a number of people have a good court case.

New DC land sale record
Rufus Lusk & Son reports that Manufacturer's Life Insurance Company, which has been increasingly active of late in the local real estate market, has bought two parcels on the west side of the 700 block of 17th Street at $1256 a square foot — a local record. The parcels include the former site of the Sans Souci Restaurant. The previous high price was paid by the World Bank: $1194 a square foot. James and Theodore Pedas bought the 17th Street

How DC Taxes Compare

TAX	COMPARED TO SUBURBS	COMPARED TO 51 CITIES	COMPARED TO 50 STATES
INCOME TAX	Highest	Highest	
PROPERTY TAX	2nd highest	Below average	
SALES TAX	Highest	Above average	Above average
GASOLINE TAX	Second highest		Above average
OFF-PREMISE LIQUOR TAXES	Lowest		Below average
ESTATE TAXES			Below average
CORPORATE INCOME TAX			Above average
CIGARETTE TAXES	Lowest		Below average
INSURANCE TAX			Average

Data from the DC Department of Finance and Revenue, based on comparison with 10 local jurisdictions, 51 cities and 50 states.

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site in 1983 for $3.2 million and sold it for $7.5 million, more than doubling their money in less than two years.

Other notes from Lusk: The three top residential sales in the city in the third quarter each brought in more than a million dollars to the seller and each was in Kalorama. . . Seller take-backs were the leading source of mortgage money, accounting for 13% of all first trusts and 41% of all second. Colonial Mortgage Service Corporation was the top commercial lender with 7.9% of the market.

EDUCATION

Va. colleges lose blacks

The Virginia State Council of Higher Education reports that Virginia state-supported colleges and universities failed to meet federal desegregation goals this fall. Fewer blacks enrolled than in the previous two years of the planned effort to increase the black student population. In the first two

DC Report Card

Here's our scorecard on the city council and the mayor. Generally we give two points plus or minus for a vote or mayoral action and one point for a public position taken without doing anything, or for a bill introduced. On especially important bills we give or take four points. Listed are the 1985 grades plus the cumulative grades since we began our scorecard in 1983. A grade of C or a score of 0 means the politician did right about half the time. Here are the latest additions:

- The council gets two points for passing a partial ban on the sale and use of phosphates for washing in DC.

- The mayor loses two points for his cynical decision to put developers and their lawyers on the ward planning committees. Some of these guys don't even live in DC.

THE YEAR IN REVIEW

The chart on this page shows five councilmembers rating an A this year. Of these only Hilda Mason rates an A in her cumulative grade since we started keeping score three years ago.

A number of councilmembers have shown consistent improvement over the three years. They are: Clarke, Wilson, Shackleton, Rolark and Smith. On the other hand, Betty Ann Kane is down from a B in 1983 to a D this year.

Here is the ranking based on a three year average of their annual grades:

1. Hilda Mason
2. John Wilson
3. Polly Shackleton
4. Wihelmina Rolark, Frank Smith, Betty Ann Kane.
5. Nadine Winter
6. Carol Schwartz (first year on council)
7. Charlene Jarvis, John Ray
8. Marion Barry, HR Crawford, William Spaulding.

	1985 SCORE	1985 GRADE	CUMUL GRADE
CLARKE	23	A	C
MASON	22	A	A
WILSON	15	A	B
SHACKLETON	14	A	C
ROLARK	14	A	C
SMITH	11	B	C
WINTER	-4	C	C
BARRY	-6	D	F
JARVIS	-6	D	D
SCHWARTZ	-7	D	D
KANE	-8	D	C
CRAWFORD	-8	D	F
RAY	-11	D	D
SPAULDING	-14	F	F

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Area Tax Rankings

	$15000	$25000	$35000	$50000	$75000
DC	3	2	1	1	1
ALEXANDRIA	1	1	2	2	2
FAIRFAX	2	3	3	3	3
MONTGOMERY	7	4	4	4	4
ARLINGTON	5	6	6	5	5
PRINCE GEO	6	5	5	6	6
Difference	$430.00	$597.00	$847.00	$1467.00	$2553.00

This chart shows the local tax burden by rank (1=highest, 7=lowest) for a family of four in various parts of the region, based on income level. Jurisdictions are listed in order of their average rank. Data compiled by the DC government. Difference is how much you could save living in the lowest taxed jurisdiction as opposed to the highest!

years, the state exceeded the federal goals by 11% and 23% respectively but this fall the figure was 62% of the target. The state did, however, surpass the federal goals for black enrollment in graduate schools. The state is under the threat of losing millions of dollars of federal aid if it, like seven other states, does not significantly improve black participation in higher education.

Va. school enrollment growing

A net immigration into Virginia will cause the state's elementary and secondary school population to increase slightly next year and again the next, according to forecasters.

Antioch gets reprieve

The beleagured Antioch Law School, which has been a bastion of poor law in Washington but which is on its financial knees, has received a reprieve from the American Bar Association, which was threatening to cut off accreditation. The bar association has agreed to put off a decision until next summer. Meanwhile, however, Antioch president Alan Guskin, who has threatened to close the school down to free money for use at the school's Ohio main campus, says that the law school will have to come up with financing and facilities by February in order to have classes next fall.

The school is scrambling to raise $2.5 million. The city has agreed to lease the old Perry School and make a $750,000 loan to the law school.

Some officials, including eight members of the city council, think the solution may be to merge the school with the University of DC and have expressed the willingness to vote the money to achieve this. Others, however, have questioned whether this is wise, given the administrative problems with which UDC is currently faced. As one faculty member said, "That's all we need: to take on a bankrupt law school."

DC schools seek some money

After several years of playing second fiddle to the rest of the city in budgetary matters, the DC school system is recommending its largest budget increase in some time. The schools want an 11.8% increase compared with the average 6% they have gotten over the past three years. During the same period the overall city budget has gone up about 10% a year. The new school money would be used for secondary teachers in math and English, and reducing class size.

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JUSTICE

Sentence reduction

DC councilmember John Ray has introduced legislation that would give the mayor the power to reduce by 90 days the prison sentences of some inmates in cases of prison overcrowding. Council chair David Clarke has also introduced a bill that would allow inmates to ask a judge to reduce a minimum sentence and member Nadine Winter has a measure that would allow parole eligibility dates to be moved up under certain circumstances. The measures are aimed at the critical overcrowding in DC penal facilities. The National Moratorium on Prison Construction is supporting all three bills, while the mayor favors Ray's proposal. Meanwhile, US Attorney Joseph diGenova says that the city is exhausting the federal government's patience by not moving ahead with construction of a new prison. Some 2500 DC prisoners are being held in federal facilities. In phrases reminiscent of federal appointees in the days before "home rule," diGenova lectured that: "Unless the District government uses the money appropriated for a new prison, it may well imperil its control over site selection."

ECONOMICS

Gramm-Rudman comes home

With the bizarre Gramm-Rudman law now in effect, local communities are expecting to feel the federal budget pinch as early as this spring. Not only will the mandated cuts affect Metro, but the National Association of State Budget Officers estimates that the slated March 1 decrease will mean a 4.6% decline in funds not exempted from an across-the-board reduction. For Maryland this could mean a loss of over $70 million, for Virginia nearly $50 million and for DC some $40 million. Incidentally, the federal payment for DC is not exempted from the across-the-board cuts. Next fall, when the new fiscal year begins, these reductions could increase three-fold.

One bright spot: lower interest rates and inflation have given local governments lower costs that can offset to some degree the loss of federal funds.

Maryland malpractice cap

Two Maryland gubenatorial task forces have recommended that a $250,000 cap be put on non-economic loss malpractice awards. One task force also recommended that settlements be paid over a period of time rather than as a lump sum.

C&P case points need for elected PSC

The main lesson to be learned from the recent decision of the Public Service Commission, socking an increase of up to 50% on residential telephone users in DC, is that the city badly needs an elected PSC. The outpouring of public opposition to the company's proposed $54.5 million increase helped to cut the rise to $31.5 million, but this was granted just seven months after C&P got a $41.9 million raise. During this period the price of the stock of Bell Atlantic, mother company of C&P, went up about 25%.

Thus the scores of community witnesses before the PSC, including many representatives of neighborhood commissions, only limited their losses in the battle and C&P rolls merrily along.

Although proposals for an elected PSC have been discussed in the past among community activists, this latest decision may add impetus to a referendum on the matter.

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No-fault referendum cleared

The DC Board of Elections has approved the wording of a proposed referendum reinstituting no-fault automobile insurance, which was recently gutted by the city council. Now the Yes on No Fault Committee has to collect 13,000 signatures to get the matter on the ballot. Once again, there are complaints from both sides about the confusing language of the proposed ballot question. Incidentally, Brian Lederer, former people's counsel at the PSC, has turned up in this matter as a representative of something called People Against Drunk Driving, which opposes the referendum.

Petition gatherers only have until Feb 13 to collect the needed 13,000 signatures to get no fault on the matter.

Bank holding charges

Some Washington banks engage in check holding policies that are examples of the sort targeted by proposed federal legislation to control such abuses. According to an article by Nancy Ross in the Post, some of the worst cases locally are:

- DC National Bank, which holds local checks five days and out of state checks up to 12 days.
- NST, which holds local checks four days and out of state checks up to eleven days.
- First American of Virginia, which holds local checks six days and out-of-state checks up to 14 days.
- Independence FSB, which holds local checks up to six days and out of state checks up to 12 days.

Incredibly, these same banks treat cashier's checks and certified checks as if they were ordinary out of state checks

Your best bet for banks with low holding periods:

In DC: American Security (one day), Riggs (1-2 days).

In Va: Sovran Bank (0 days), Dominion (0 days)

In Md: Equitable (1 day), First American Bank of Maryland (2 days)

THE STORY THUS FAR

Summer 1983: Mary Treadwell, former wife of the mayor, convicted in federal court on charges of conspiring to misappropriate funds and making false statements. The charges stemmed from the time when Barry and Treadwell were running Youth Pride.

1984: District employee and close friend of the mayor Karen Johnson convicted of distribution of cocaine. Press reports claim Barry is being investigated as well and Barry accuses the press of trying to "lynch" him. The US Attorney's office says the investigation was over. Meanwhile, Johnson's former boyfriend, a key witness, disappears into the Federal Witness Protection Program.

1984: Federal investigators look into the medical examiner's certificate issued in the death of Joann T. Medina on December 14, 1983 amid reports that a member of Barry's cabinet had pressured the medical examiner to change the death certificate. The death report had orginally indicated that Medina had died in an overdose suicide but was changed to list the death as accidental. The medical examiner subsequently resigns blaming political pressure to change autopsy reports on at least three occasions.

1985: Jose Guitierrez, director of the Department of Administrative Services, demoted and then fired, after complaining of cronyism and contract favoritism in the city government.

August 1985: UDC President Robert L. Green resigns following allegations that he had improperly spent university funds.

December 1985: Ivanhoe Donaldson, longtime friend and advisor to the mayor and a former deputy mayor, pleads guilty to the misuse of $190,000 in city funds.

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Trends: Where Washington is Headed

George & Eunice Grier

(From a report by the Greater Washington Research Center):

The early 1980s brought major shifts in population growth trends for the greater Washington region. In certain important respects, these changes reverse the trends of the 1970s.

If the new trends continue, they will point the way toward a regional future quite different from the one that seemed most probable when the decade began.

In three successive decades, shifting population growth trends have sent three different messages about the future of greater Washington--each presenting a distinct and divergent picture:

The message of the 1960s -- and for that matter, of most previous decades in this century--was one of rapid growth, radically changing the character of the area. During the sixties, suburbanization was in full flower. The District of Columbia was in eclipse.

The development of new mini-downtowns, elegant shopping malls and office parks centering around the Washington area's "main street," the Beltway, transformed shopping and commutation patterns. They theatened forever to co-opt the dominant role previously played by the District as the hub for both jobs and commercial enterprise.

The message of the 1970s was one of drastically slower growth, but still rapid change in many other respects. The growth of the area as a whole slammed virtually to a halt. The District of Columbia lost 118,000 people, and some of the inner suburbs saw their populations decline for the first time. Some other major suburbs increased at much lower rates than previously.

What growth remained was chiefly on the outskirts. But population stability did not mean stagnation. The area blossomed economically, while radical changes took place in the characteristics of its households and families. The District's inner-city areas saw residential revival, with affluent households renewing run-down houses.

The message of the early 1980s is still different. Area growth appears to be resuming, albeit not at the frenetic pace of the 1960s. At the same time, growth has turned inward. The District's population loss has ceased, while it is experiencing an unprecedented boom in office space development.

The "hole in the doughnut" which many had feared would blight the District's future forever seems to be disappearing. The inner suburbs are once more gaining population. Growth on the fringes, meanwhile, has slowed. All these shifts and more have once again altered the region's prospects and its options.

Throughout these shifting growth patterns, however, one thread has persisted. Area growth, while extending in all directions, has been strongest toward the west and south--into Fairfax and Prince William Counties, Virginia, in particular. Recently it has spread to localities further to the southwest such as Stafford County--which, as a result, was made officially part of the metropolitan area in 1983. Stafford has had the fastest percentage growth rate of any of the region's fringe suburbs in the early 1980s.

During the first half of the 1980s, several important population shifts have become apparent:

After metropolitan Washington's po-

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pulation growth slowed virtually to a halt during the 1970s, a resurgence has begun:

- The area's population increase from 1980 to 1984 has been about 158,000 persons, or 5.2 percent. That's slightly more than during the whole of the 1970s.
- Washington has been the only "top ten" metropolis outside the "Sunbelt" or the west coast to achieve above-average growth during this period.

A new mega-metropolis has begun to emerge. This is the Baltimore-Washington-Richmond-Norfolk-Newport News Crescent: The interdependence of the northermost two metropolitan areas of the crescent, has already been recognized locally by the designation of a Baltimore-Washington Common Market and the formation of the Washington-Baltimore Regional Association. Now it is apparent that Washington is becoming the hub of a still larger region--made up of four metropolitan areas instead of merely two. This huge complex approaches the population of the Chicago Consolidated Area, also consisting of several metro areas. The crescent is growing four times as fast as the Chicago area. It has nearly eight million people, almost $97 billion in consumer buying power, and another ten million persons within a two-hour driving range.

The population growth of the Washington region has turned inside-out: During the 1970s, and for decades before, the most rapid growth had been occuring on the fringes--often in counties beyond the official definition of the metropolitan area, but recognized by many of the media and other major local businesses as within their trading range. These far-fringe counties seemed on the verge of explosive increase when the 1970s ended. In the first part of the 1980s, however, the inner suburbs have seen accelerating growth rates, while most outer suburbs have grown less than in the previous decade.

The shifting growth trends have varied among the several concentric rings or tiers of jurisdictions of the area, ranging outward from its central core to its fringes.

- *District of Columbia.* In the District of Columbia, the population had declined at an average rate of 1.6 percent per year in the 1970s. In the 1980-1984 period, the decline has dropped to 0.6 percent annually. And, between 1983 and 1984, the population essentially leveled off.
- *Central Core Suburbs.* In the central core suburbs or Arlington and Alexandria, the population had declined at a one percent annual rate in the 1970s. Between 1980 and 1984, this decrease has been replaced by a modest average annual gain of 0.5 percent. Numerically, these innermost suburbs are now growing as fast as many in the outermost tier.
- *First Tier Suburbs.* The first-tier suburbs (the so-called "big three" of Montgomery, Prince George's and Fairfax), adjoining the District of Columbia and the central core, have had growth in their total population during both the 1970-1980 and 1980-1984 periods. However, the rate of growth has increased from 1.2 percent between 1970 and 1980 to 1.7 percent from 1980 through 1984.
- *Second Tier Suburbs.* In the second-tier suburbs just beyond the "big three," on the other hand, the growth rate has decreased. It has been 4.1 percent annually in the 1970-1980 period; between 1980 and 1984, it dropped by about half, to 2.1 percent.
- *Third Tier Suburbs.* The third-tier suburbs, those on the far fringes of the region, have had an even more sharply declining rate of growth: from 3.0 percent per year in the 1970s to 1.3 percent in the 1980-1984 period, or to about one-third the earlier rate.

The population growth shifts of the early 1980s are likely to be at least as significant to the region's future as those of the 1970s. Whatever that future may bring, they prove that declining growth for the region or for its central localities is not an inevitable part of it.

On the other hand, it would be unwise to assume that the recent trends will continue, any more than those of the past. The record of population projections and forecasts made in recent decades, not only locally but nationally, is not reassuring as to our ability to forsee the demographic future.

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If recent trends continue a while longer, the area will become more densely developed and less spread-out. Less need will result for new roads, utilities, and other infrastructure along most of the fringes. However, the existing infrastructure near the center of the area may well become increasingly over-taxed.

The demand for new shopping malls and other commercial development in most outer parts of the region may diminish, while existing facilities in more central locations may see increased traffic. Some schools that have recently been phased out may need to be re-opened.

The District of Columbia and the central core suburbs may not face continuing population decline but stabilization or very possible modest growth. High-density residential development--apartments and condos -- may become more prevalent.

The greatest growth pressures, however, are likely to be felt by the "big three" suburbs of Montgomery, Prince George's, and Fairfax, which are not only quite close to the center but have considerable land left for development.

The future is clear for none of the area's local jurisdictions, but it seems least certain of all for the fringe suburbs and exurbs. Their growth rate has recently been cut drastically.

One trend that has survived all the recent shifts has been the southwesterly thrust of the region's population growth. In the 1970s, all the net growth of metropolitan Washington was accounted for by Fairfax and Prince William Counties.

This trend remains intact to the point that Fairfax, Prince William, and Strafford Counties all remain among the fastest-growing jurisdictions of their respective suburban tiers, and have either seen their growth rates increase in the 1980s or decline less than most others.

Disappearing Washington

Lost

Ballston, Arlington County: The county council has given unanimous approval to a $300 million development that will include 4 13-story office buildings and two 23-story apartment buildings on a two block site near the subway.

Greenbelt, Prince Georges County: The PG planning board has okayed a development that will include a hotel, 232 town houses and 109 single-family homes. Town officials said the development would strain further the capacity of the road system. The Greenbelt city council had voted to oppose the project.

Bowie, Prince Georges County: The PG planning board has given final approval to a $400 million New Town Center that will include a shopping center as big as Tysons Corner, 1500 residential units and a total of 1.8 million square feet of retail and commercial buildings. There has been strong community opposition for many years.

Northwest, DC: The city plans to go ahead with plans to build ugly suicide fences on the Taft and Ellington Bridges. Next: bars for all office windows?

Endangered

Northeast DC: Marion Barry has offered to buy the landmark Howard Theatre and restore it in order to save the building from a possible foreclosure.

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Montgomery County: The Chessie System has threatened to go ahead with commercial and residential development on its abandoned Georgetown spur unless the National Park Service buys it for $15 million. An official of the Park Service, which still hopes the railroad will donate the land, said, "We feel like victims of the great train robbery." The DC portion of the line is designated in the comprehensive plan as open space.

Konterra, Prince Georges County: The county council has voted to appeal a court decision that overturned the council's refusal to rezone an entire tract desired for development by the Konterra mini-city developers. The council approved rezoning of 488 acres but denied rezoning for another 970 acres pending a review by the planning board. The court, in a rare overturning of a council zoning decision, said the council had not given "valid reasons" for not rezoning the 970 acres. Meanwhile, the Konterra Legal Defense Fund, a Beltsville group opposing all development on the site, also filed an appeal — this one against the court's approval of the rezoning of 488 acres.

Alexandria, Va: City officials have refused a request for $55 million in city-backed tax exempt bonds to convert some 3000 low-income apartments into Yuppie housing. The decision does not kill the project, but slows it down.

Saved

Adams-Morgan, DC: The McDonald's Corporation has agreed to rehabilitate its structure at 18th & Columbia Rd NW rather than tear it down, as had been previously announced. The 1899 Waddy Wood structure (see last issue) is considered a local landmark.

•

Carol Lowe has been named director of the DC Commission for Women. She is a special assistant to the city administrator

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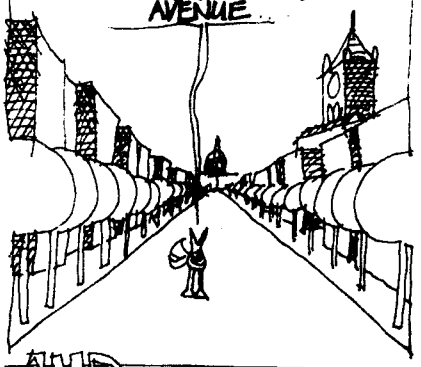
ARCHiHORSE

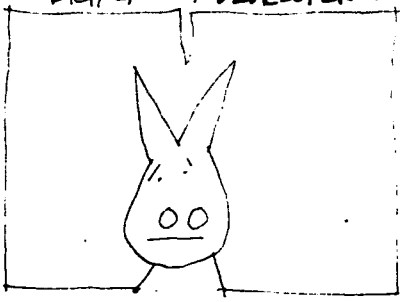
TODAY'S LECTURE IS ABOUT CONNECTING THE CITY!

WIEB 2·86

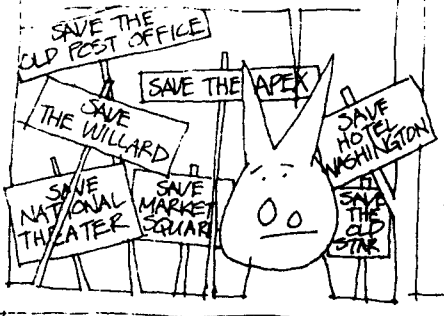
THIS PICTURE SHOWS ME IN WASHINGTON DC'S NEWLY **REDEVELOPED PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE**...



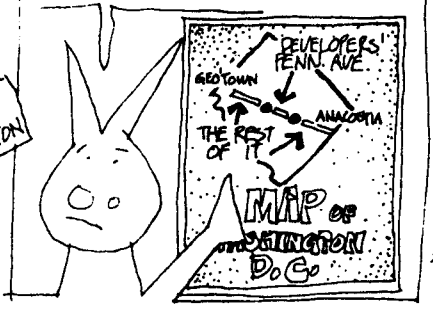
NOW THIS AVENUE IS LINED WITH THE BIG, GLOSSY OFFICE BUILDINGS NEEDED TO BRING INAUGURAL PARADES UP TO THE STANDARDS OF OUR BIG, GLOSSY **DEVELOPERS**...



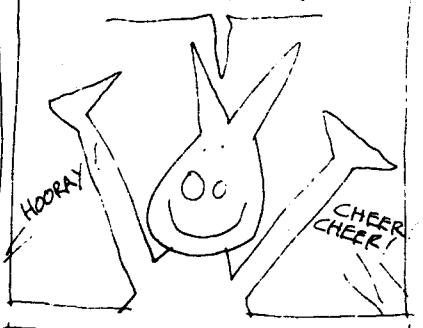
BUT LITTLE WAS DONE FOR **LOCAL PEOPLE** OTHER THAN KEEPING SOME OF THE OLD BUILDINGS THAT LOCAL PEOPLE ASKED TO HAVE KEPT..



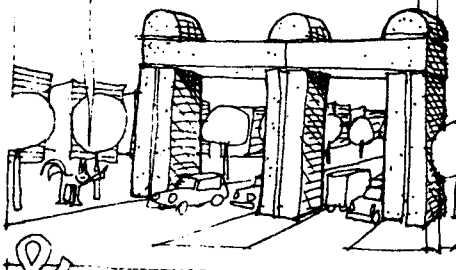
AND THE AVENUE'S PLANNERS SIMPLY PASSED OVER **MOST OF THE AVENUE** - THEY MUST'VE THOUGHT IT RUNS ONLY FROM CAPITOL TO WHITE HOUSE...



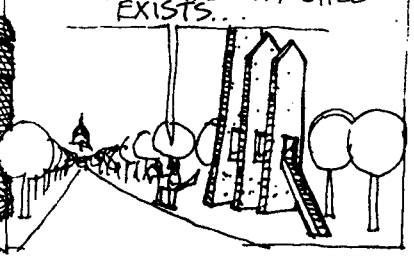
THIS MEANS THERE CAN BE **ANOTHER** PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE REDEVELOPMENT — ONE THAT'S PLANNED TO **CONNECT THE CITY**...



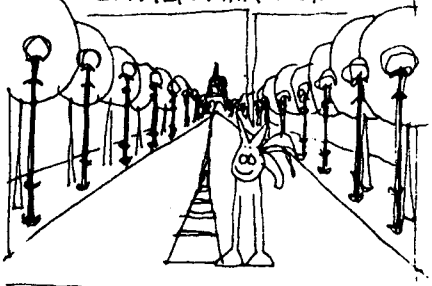
THE AVENUE'S **2 BEGINNINGS** — ONE IN GEORGETOWN & ONE IN ANACOSTIA — CAN BE CELEBRATED WITH MONUMENTAL ENTRANCEWAYS.



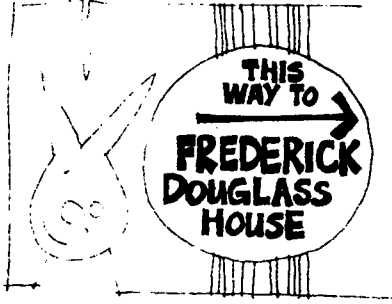
A TOWER IN CENTRAL ANACOSTIA — WHERE PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE PRESENTS A VISTA OF THE CAPITOL — CAN GIVE WASHINGTON DC. A **VISUAL REMINDER** THAT THIS CORNER OF THE CITY STILL EXISTS..



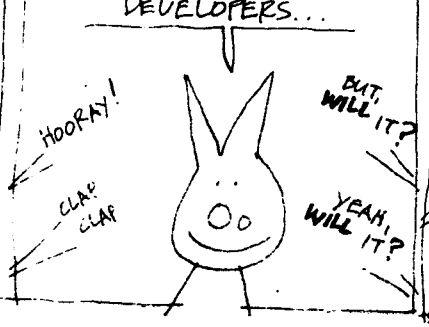
PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE CAN BE MADE **DISTINGUISHABLE** FROM OTHER STREETS & AVENUES BY BEING LINED WITH SPECIAL STREET LIGHTS & SPECIAL CENTER MARKINGS...



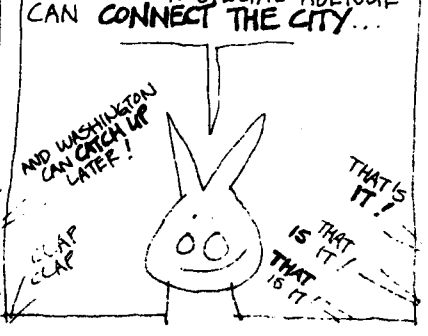
& **LOCAL LANDMARKS** CAN BE CALLED OUT WITH SIGNS ON STREET LIGHTS, TO HELP LOCAL PEOPLE KNOW ABOUT LOCAL ASSETS.



THE CITY CAN RE-REDEVELOP PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE TO CONTRIBUTE AS MUCH TO LOCAL PEOPLE AS TO DEVELOPERS...



OH, PROBABLY NOT, BUT MAYBE SOME OTHER CITY — SAY, SPOKANE OR CLEVELAND OR SUCH — CAN SHOW HOW A SPECIAL AVENUE CAN **CONNECT THE CITY**...



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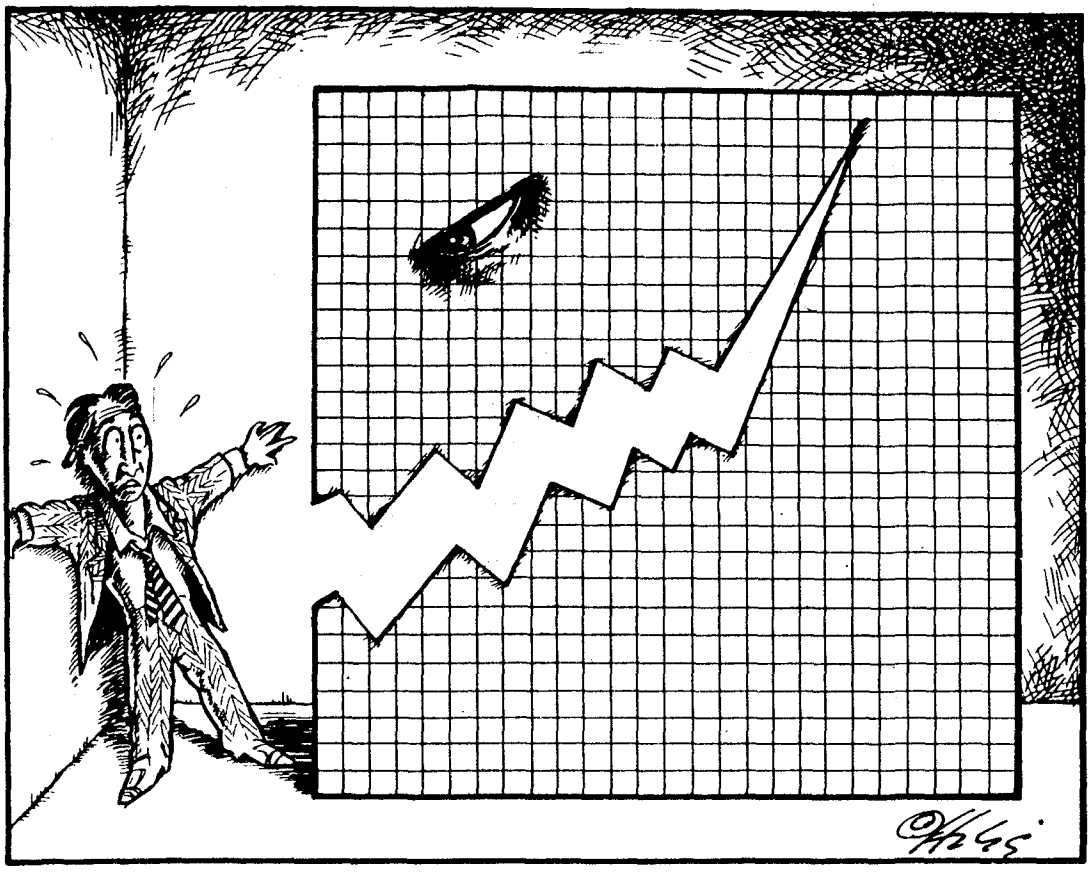

AN INSURANCE STRIKE?

James Ridgeway

Curtis and Margaret Greer bought a 14-room motel in Forsyth, Missouri, as a small business they could manage alongside their jobs as teacher and analyst. As they had it planned, the motel would continue to help support them when they retired.

Although the Greers never had any problems with liability insurance, which they had routinely purchased for $1,400 a year, and had never filed a claim, their coverage was abruptly cancelled for no reason last year.

In vain, the Greers looked elsewhere. Finally, Lloyds of London quoted them a price of $8,000 a year -- about half the motel's gross income. They now operate with no insurance and, fearful that a guest will be injured and sue, the Greers have put the motel up for sale.

They are the latest victims in what some critics are calling a national insurance strike -- one that is ripping the fabric of small business.

Over the last year, liability insurance rates have jumped as high as 1,000 percent. Committees in Congress are actively investigating the increases, and there are calls in Washington for federal control over the insurance industry, which is currently regulated only at the state level.

An increasing number of small businesses are going without

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insurance, and in some states where local governments are facing sharp rate increases, there are attempts at self-insurance.

Next to food, housing and taxes, insurance is the biggest expense for most families. Americans spend $278 billion in insurance premiums each year, and the insurance companies reinvest these premiums in the American economy. Along with commercial banks, insurance companies indeed are the major engines of economic growth.

A little more than half of the $278 billion goes for life insurance, the remainder for property/casualty liability insurance, which either protects an individual's property or protects the individual from harming someone else's property.

Over the last six months, the cost of property casualty insurance has steadily mounted, because of what the companies insist are growing losses and expenses.

Some of the rate increase are astounding. In Maryland, for example, malpractice insurance for ob/gyn doctors jumped 70 percent in 1985 alone. Malpractice coverage for lawyers and architects across the country leaped anywhere from 300 to 900 percent. Insurance for public transport went up as much as 1,000 percent. Many daycare centers can no longer obtain any insurance at all; others have seen rates go up as much as 500 percent.

Very often devastating insurance hikes have little to do with the insured's actual record. Consider the case of Edie Wonnell, who founded the non-profit Birth Center in Wilmington, Delaware, in 1982. The center employs three nurse midwives and four maternity nurses who superintend 150 births a year. The nurses are in constant consultation with four obstetricians. The center has never been sued, and enjoys a spotless safety record.

In 1984, Ms. Wonnell paid $840 malpractice insurance for each nurse midwife and $1,300 for the center. In December of last year, the insurance company covering the birth center went out of business and since then Ms. Wonnell has been unable to renew.

Her board of directors resigned en masse. "You can't blame them," she said. "There are 15 members who resigned for their own protection, and so I said I would buy the assets of the birth center to keep it going. My own malpractice insurance as a nurse midwife ran longer than the center's."

"We have been informing everybody that they can go to the hospital for delivery," she continued. "We have told them that if anything happens, we have no insurance. Most of them are saying they won't go to the hospital, they are staying here." Wonnell admits she is running a risk, for if a suit were brought against either herself or the center, "I would lose everything."

Robert Hunter, former federal insurance administrator in the Ford Administration who now heads the National Insurance Consumer Organization, believes the current rate increases are out of line. His investigation indicates the companies made a three percent rate of return in 1984, which Hunter acknowledges is too low. But by adjusting their premiums upward by five percent, he says, that rate of return could be changed from three to a healthy 13 percent.

Hunter believes the staggering increases are in part a deliberate strategy to create a scare that can in turn be used to pressure the state insurance commissioners into approving even higher rates.

Such a scare also creates pressure to limit the scope of insurance, eliminating from coverage those the industry doesn't want to insure. And, he says, it puts pressure on state legislatures to set ceilings on jury damages.

In a separate analysis of the property casualty insurance industry, the Government Accounting Office concluded that the insurers really aren't losing money at all.

"Many companies have been willing to charge lower premiums

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to compete for certain insurance lines," says Natwar M. Gandhi of the GAO. He says their claims and costs exceeded revenues because "the companies expect to make up the premium shortfall through investment income."

Thus: while property casualty companies had about $46 billion in underwriting losses between 1975 and 1984, they also gained $121 billion in profits from their investments.

And there's another wild card in the liability insurance game. Some of the largest liability insurance carriers are owned by non-insurance firms, and for these firms liability insurance is a godsend permitting the non-insurance parents to charge off taxes they might otherwise pay against an insurance subsidiary's losses.

In fact, some companies have actually collected tax refunds. Under the law, others can carry forward their losses against extraordinary profits they now will incur having jacked up their rates to levels far beyond the reach of all but the biggest and healthiest insurance buyers.

More and more small businesses, meanwhile, are forced to let their insurance lapse -- and pray they'll never need it.

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THE MOTOR VOTER
Making Registration Easy

David D. Schmidt

IN THE DEMOCRACIES OF EUROPE AND CANADA, registration of all eligible voters has for decades been a responsibility carried out by the government. Here in the United States, however, almost every state has hewn to the archaic practice of denying voting rights to anyone who fails to jump through the various hoops set up by the confusing hodgepodge of registration laws. Antiparticipatory voter registration procedures have become even more ludicrous in an age when the average high school computer class student could easily design a program that would automatically register every eligible American by merging address lists already used by government agencies.

Every election year, volunteers, public interest groups, and foundations pour their time and money into voter registration drives. In 1984, as usual, they struggled mightily to push the number of registered voters higher than ever up the inaccessible peak of universal registration. And in 1985, as usual, registration levels rolled back down the slope due to the post-election purges of nonvoters from lists. In Arizona, however, advocates of increased voter registration have kicked the habit. They no longer sponsor voter registration drives because they aren't necessary. Arizonans have entered the age of automatic voter registration.

In 1979 John Kromko, a night school instructor of computer programming at a Tucson business college (now an Arizona State Representative), came up with the idea of having the state's Department of Motor Vehicles stamp each new or renewed driver's license with the applicant's voting precinct number, so that the license could be used as a voter ID card on election day — and no further registration would be required. When the state legislature didn't cotton to the idea, Kromko launched a statewide petition drive to put it on the ballot as an initiative. The drive fell just short of the number of signatures required to qualify for the 1980 ballot.

The next year, Phoenix lawyer Les Miller took up the cause, rewrote the bill, and launched

David Schmidt is director the new Initiative Resources Center, 4607 Conn. Ave NW #719, DC 20008 (364-2402). For more information on automatic voter registration, contact the center. This article originally appeared in the Whole Earth Review.

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another petition drive to put the measure on the 1982 Arizona ballot. This time the drive was successful. Voters passed it with 54 percent of the votes — hardly overwhelming, but not bad for a state so conservative that the electorate rejected a nuclear weapons freeze initiative on the same ballot by 59 percent.

The new law took effect March 29, 1983. Since then, Arizona Department of Motor Vehicles staffers have asked each driver's license applicant, including renewal applicants, if he or she is registered to vote. If the answer is no, the applicant is asked if he or she would like to register and handed a card to fill out and turn in with the driver's license form. During the first six months, 66,609 people registered to vote this way, even though all the traditional channels of voter registration remained open. In rural Navajo County, populated mainly by Hopi and Navajo Indians whose voter registration levels were among the worst in the state, nearly a quarter of all license applicants registered.

But getting people onto the voter lists is only half the battle in voter registration. Keeping them on the lists even if they fail to vote is equally difficult. Arizona's Motor Voter law solves that problem, too. When county election officials purge the names of nonvoters after each election, they must run a computer check of purged names against the list of people who hold valid driver's licenses. Anybody who has a driver's license stays on the voter registration list, even if that person neglected to vote.

In the last few years, seven states — including Michigan, Minnesota, North Carolina, Ohio, Washington and Colorado — have adopted new procedures allowing people to register to vote when they get their driver's license, but none have proven as effective as the Arizona version.

The reason for this is simple. Arizona's version comes the closest to automatic voting registration. Citizens no longer need to go out of their way to register to vote. Indeed, even the requirement of filling out the form could be eliminated in the future. Driver's license lists could easily be merged by computer with voter registration lists and other lists (such as resident aliens and taxpayers) to update addresses and weed out ineligible people, thereby producing a list of all eligible citizens. Everyone on this list could then be automatically registered to vote.

The only obstacle in the way of automatic voter registration is the reluctance of politicians to enfranchise any new voters who might not support them. But even this can be overcome in states like Arizona, where citizens can use the initiative process to pass a law directly by citizen petition and popular vote. In 1984, Coloradans passed a Motor Voter law by initiative vote, and Representative Kromko says activists in other states have contacted him to talk over plans for passing such laws.

The Democratic Party in particular has an incentive to back automatic voter registration. Even though the new crop of voters would not necessarily register as Democrats, the party would at least be spared the expense of competing with the Republicans' high-priced, high-tech efforts to register conservatives — a rivalry the financially strapped Democrats can't hope to win. Republicans, too, may come to accept the principle of automatic voter registration, in view of the meager results of their just-completed Operation Open Door. The GOP aimed to register 100,000 new Republicans at a cost of $7.50 apiece — three quarters of a million dollars — but it failed.

So far, the momentum behind automatic voter registration is hardly what one could call a national sensation. But one day, the financial backers of both major political parties will realize they could spend more money on *influencing* voters if they spent less *registering* them. ■

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FIVE YEARS OF FAILURE

Sam Smith

(I was asked recently to give a toast at the fifth anniversary celebration of the DC Community Humanities Council. Here is what I said):

Five years ago the DC Community Humanities Council was formed, charged with the diffusion of ideas, the encouragement of thought and the inspiration of rational discourse within this our nation's capital. This was a little like trying to sell Bibles in a brothel, and I think that any fair assessment of what has occurred around us since we began would indicate that we have failed miserably. The best efforts of the council and its sainted staff have failed to halt a national and local stampede towards what is perhaps the most anti-humanistic era of our lifetimes.

It is an era, to be sure, not without ideas and a sense of history — but what ideas and what history. It's as if the worst of the past had been resyndicated and put on Channel 20, with none of the other stations working. We draw from the economics of Morgan, Mellon and the British East India Company, the morality of Comstock, the civil liberties of Palmer and McCarthy, the civil rights of Tara, the lifestyle of Babbitt and Gatsby, the religion of Gantry, the political ethics of Teapot Dome and the business ethics of Ponzi, the gentleness of Nietzsche, the altruism of Ann Rand, the ecological sensitivity of General Sherman, the spiritualism of Warren Gameliel Harding, the imagination of Rutherford Hayes, the brilliance of Franklin Pierce, the expressiveness of Calvin Coolidge and the evolutionary theories of William Jennings Bryan.

It is an era when we propose to devise the most complex weapons system ever created, but when we go to explain it to people, our government feels compelled to use comic book stick figures on television. We have become the first society to know more about the external world than we do about ourselves. And now we even seem to be losing the ability to talk or write about the problem.

It is an era in which, like the fifties, the man in the gray flannel suit is in the ascendency, but unlike the fifties, when he was viewed with the ambivalence that economics forces upon us he or she is now a cultural role model, and, unbelievably, even considered hip, charismatic and sexy.

And it is an era in which we know how to promote, facilitate,merge, network, manage, integrate, finalize and bottom line, but are losing the ability to make— to create. I have a nightmare that one day the country will awake and discover that there is nothing to manage, finalize and facilitate. There will be no one left to make anything.

So we have failed, here in the jaws of the lion — but I would argue that given the powers arrayed against the humanistic ideal, failure has been the only sane and honorable course. And the failure, one hopes, is only temporary. Long ago, John Locke warned of the constant decay of ideas, and how they must be "renewed by repeated exercises of the senses." If not, "the print wears out, and at last there remains nothing to be seen."

The print is fading, but, thanks in part to this band of happy humanistic warriors, it could have been alot worse. It has engaged in repeated exercises of the senses with an integrity, decency, fairness, sensitivity and good humor rarely seen in this town anymore. In a city that is obsessed with style, it is one of the few real class acts. So a toast to the Council for all it has done and will do and to the humanistic spirit. May we live to see it once more.

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ENERGY FROM TRASH

A Dream Turns Sour

Paul Bass

First they were hailed as a clean and safe quick fix. Then the plants turned out far more dangerous than originally believed, and much more expensive. But industry, encouraged by government, has already invested too much in the new technology to explore safer, cheaper alternatives.

Sound familiar? That was the story, as environmentalists saw it, of the rise of nuclear power 20 years ago. Now a new, equally controversial technology has borrowed the same plot. Local governments across the country are once again weighing whether to follow the script to the final scene or heed warnings and close the show early.

The new technology is a process for converting trash to energy in incinerator plants. At first glance the plants work like modern-day alchemy: they burn garbage into steam, which is used to generate electricity. Several dozen communities have built them. Scores more with no place left to bury their garbage -- and with landfills leaking carcinogenic chemicals into their water -- are either planning to build them or are considering it.

But recently citizen activists have stopped such plants in Philadelphia; Rutland, Vermont; and New Haven, Connecticut. Sweden has declared a moratorium on all new incinerators. A growing body of evidence -- and alternatives -- casts the future of some other plants in doubt.

The controversy centers for the most part on polychlorinated dibenzo-p-dioxins (dioxins) and polychlorinated dibenxofurans (furans). Dioxins and furans have been reported to increase the frequency of cancer in laboratory animals and cause birth defects and severe skin rashes to humans, as well as lower body defenses against cancer and reproductive disorders. Dioxins and furans are released into the air by smokestacks of trash-to-energy plants.

Supporters of the plants say they can keep the levels of these and other dangerous chemicals to safe levels through the use of two pollution control devices: acid gas scrubbers (which mix the gaseous air stream in the plant with a liquid spray to neutralize acids) and "baghouses" (fabric filters that collect certain fibers in the air stream). But the only test so far conducted at a trash-to-energy plant using both devices, in Tsushima, Japan, showed that the air stream contained as much as seven times *more* dioxin after leaving the devices and the smokestack.

How did that happen? According to plant supporters, the temperature in the Tsushima factory's furnace wasn't high enough to kill the dioxins and furans. They say future plants in the U.S. will take care of the problem with temperatures of 1,800 degrees centigrade.

Not if a quite different explanation for the Tsushima results turns out to be true. This explanation -- cited in anti-plant reports as the "Commoner theory," after Barry Commoner, an ecologist and founder of the New York-based Center for the Biology of Natural Systems -- holds that, contrary to conventional wisdom, the dioxins and furans are formed *in the smokestack*, not the furnace.

Commoner maintains that in the smokestack, lignin particles from burnt paper or wood combine on pieces of flyash with polyvinyl chloride from plastic to form the

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dioxins and furans. So, Commoner says, the control devices and the higher furnace temperatures don't make a lick of difference. Meanwhile, most dioxins invading Americans' bodies is already coming from incinerators, not the food chain, according to a CBNS study.

Commoner, who was also an early opponent of nuclear power, hasn't convinced many in the scientific establishment. But two studies this fall buttressed his argument. The Canadian government found far more dioxin in the smokestack than in the furnace of an incinerator on Prince Edward Island. And a West German group reported at a September dioxin symposium that their tests showed that the optimal temperature for the formation of dioxins and furans on flyash is 250 to 350 degrees centrigrade, the estimated temperature in trash-to-energy plant smokestacks.

If all public officials suddenly heeded Commoner's warning and cancelled plans for trash-to-energy plants, they'd still face the sticky problem of what to do with all the overflowing garbage.

In the course of fighting the plants, groups such as CBNS, the Environmental Planning Lobby in New York State, the Environmental Defense Fund in Washington, D.C., and the Arlington, Virginia-based Citizens Clearinghouse for Hazardous Wastes have come across cheaper and safer alternatives to burning garbage. Their alternative scheme includes:

- *Widespread recycling efforts at the household level.* Consumers would keep separate trash bags in their kitchens for metals, plastics, paper, and glass. They would dispose of those wastes separately in differentiated streetcorner dumpsters, of the sort now seen in Italy. Skeptics doubt the possibilities of such a wholesale shift in the American lifestyle, even though source separation was commonplace in American households in the past. They also point out that most public recycling efforts now cut down the waste stream no more than 25 percent, leaving an awful lot of garbage left to recycle.
- *Mechanical source separation* to separate out that remaining waste, as well as materials which consumers can't break down themselves. Rome, Italy, and Oslo, Norway, for instance, have built facilities which separate paper from plastic in water. Skeptics point out that governments sometimes get stuck with recycled materials, unable to re-sell them because of fluctuations in the market.
- *Upgrading of materials* to address that problem. The Oslo plant upgrades paper fibers to toilet papers and newsprint -- the former, at least, a commodity with a captive market. Paper accounts for a surprisingly high percentage of our garbage: up to six percent of a typical city's waste stream and 80 percent of a typical office building's, according to the Institute for Self-Reliance, a Washington, D.C.-based consulting firm. Barry Commoner believes states would collect enough scrap metal through recycling efforts to justify building steel plants to produce reinforcing rods.
- *A three-step process to take care of plastics,* the major source of the dioxins and furans from the trash-to-energy plants. Some plastic can be recycled; polyethylene terephtalate, increasingly used in soft-drink bottles, can be recycled for plastic stripping and fibre fill material, for instance. For now other plastic would have to be buried -- but it would weigh less than the 10 percent of the waste from waste-to-energy plants that still needs to be burried. In any case, environmentalists argue that ultimately the U.S. should sharply reduce the use of plastic.
- *Composing food and yard waste.*
- *Reusing construction waste as fill material,* such as for roadbeds.

Commoner argues: "Our society is very backward. We don't even think about these things." The central issue, though, hinges on how far citizens are willing to go to avoid health risks. As one Connecticut official noted after plans for the New Haven plant were scrapped in November, "People say, 'No plant in my backyard.' Fine. But are they willing to keep six different garbage bags in their kitchens?"

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The Food Research Action Center reports that there has been a 17 percent increase in the demand for food by private assistance programs over last year's levels. Some 42% of the agencies reported turning people away because of lack of food.

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CHARLES MCDOWELL

Keeping Up With William Buckley

William F. Buckley, Jr. can write a newspaper column in 20 minutes. I just read that in Time magazine. All right. It is 12:10 p.m. on Friday and the clock is running.

Bill Buckley is the editor of the National Review. He founded it 30 years ago and conservatives like it. For the anniversary party, yesteday, President Reagan went to New York to join Buckley and 750 guests at the Plaza.

The president said, or planned to say, (according to an advanced excerpt obtained by the Washington Times) -- "Bill was the most influential journalist of this century in preserving the cause of freedom."

According to the New York Times, the security arrangements for the president's overnight stay prompted the police to advise motorists to avoid a 50-block area east of the Avenue of the Americas between 50th and 60th streets.

The late edition probably had more about the dinner, including Buckley's remarks, but I can't possibly write this column in anything like 20 minutes if I have to run around looking for the late edition of the New York Times.

It is 12:19 already. One of my problems when I write on a computer, as I am doing, is that I am able to write a good deal faster than I think, and I make errors and, also, not much sense and, beyond that, the prose gets jerky, all of which ought to be fixed and toned up to the point that it seems to be the product of contemplative thought, which is impossible when I am trying to keep Buckley's pace.

Buckley writes on a computer. He has eight of them in his offices in New York, Connecticut and Switzerland. In his famous brown limousine, rushing off to a speech or a television taping, he writes on one of those little computers you balance on your knees. On a yacht in the Pacific, he wrote a 7,500-word draft of a children's book, "The Temptation of Wilfred Malachey," in two hours. Two hours!

If Buckley's prose tends to get jerky (I do not have time to avoid ambiguities that snide liberals might try to warp into puns), the long words and arcane idiom he uses make up for it. The Buckley prose does not jerk; it flows and tumbles and makes a jubilant sound.

I have no reason to doubt that Buckley's mind works faster than a computer and that, waiting for it to catch up at stoplights, he finds time for contemplation of the world's problems from the back of the limousine.

The limousine has a telephone, I assume I wonder how often it rings. My telephone, on the desk here in the office, rang while I was rattling off the paragraph above. It was a politician I had been trying make an appointment with for six months and he could manage 10 minutes next Tuesday if I would come to the Capitol and wait outside a committee room.

"President Reagan flew to New York to see Buckley," I said.

"So did Jack Kemp," he said, missing the point, and then wasted 10 more minutes of my valuable time saying obvious things about Kemp's chances against George Bush in 1988. In 10 minutes, Bill Buckley can write a parody of a French parable about Kemp and Bush, outline a novel and still have a minute to practice the harpsichord.

Buckley plays the harpsichord beautifully. He sails. He skis. He speaks most languages. He has written 24 books, besides editing his magazine, conducting "Firing Line" on television, writing the column, writing good-humored stuff for the New Yorker, lecturing all over the world and always finding time for a leisurely lunch with a good wine.

Which reminds me I haven't had lunch. It is 2:45 p.m.; the elapsed time for this column so far is 2 hours, 35 minutes. I have had six more phone calls and a visit from a graduate student writing about provincial journalism. My computer, taking me seriously when I struck a wrong key in haste, began drawing ridiculous bar graphs about the federal

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budget. A colleague retrieved the column. And smirked at it.

Now somebody says I have to let the window washer in here. I'm going to lunch. Hey, maybe the wine is his secret.

I'm back at 3:05 without wine. The refrigerator in the limo was fresh out. No, the carry-out doesn't sell it. The window washer is still here and there is a fine mist of Windew settling on my Roy Rogers hamburger, I just wasn't cut out to compete with Buckley.

Richmond Times Dispatch.

TOPICS

Sam Smith

HEIST, NOT A REVOLUTION

A journalism school dean tells me that during a discussion of the press the inevitable remarks were made concerning the need for objectivity and the avoidance of ideology. One of the participants interrupted to say, "Objectivity is our ideology."

I was thinking of that as I continued my search for the true ideology of the Reagan administration, a search commenced when I realized that what was described by the media and the White House as the guiding principles of our times simply didn't match what was going on in the country.

The Reaganites were said to believe in fiscal soundness but the public debt and the annual deficit were doubling.

The Reaganites were said to believe in getting the federal government off our backs, yet the administration kept urging new policies that extended the government's influence even into the doctor-patient relationship and the bedroom, all the while preaching at us about our sins of commission and ommission with a ferocity that even the most paternalistic liberal would have shunned. Never had I been so aware of what the federal government thought I should or should not be doing.

The Reaganites were said to believe in the miracle of the marketplace, but even in the worst of the Carter years, homeless drifters did not huddle in my office building doorway.

The Reaganites were said to believe in the virtues of individual initiative yet, if so, why were so many farmers committing suicide?

The Reaganites were said to be virulently anti-communist, yet our trade with China was soaring as we picked on ancillary targets such as Grenada and Nicaragua.

The Reaganites were said to be strongly pro-family, but the number of

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broken homes was rising dramatically among the poor, egged on in no small part by the miserly programs of the alleged familophiles.

The Reaganistas were said to believe in the wonders of competition, yet industry and banking were freely concentrating themselves with an abandon unseen since the days of the great monopoly trusts.

The president spoke of honesty and integrity, yet remained close to the Teamsters Union.

Despite such evidence of discontinuity between preachment and practice, the media continued to accept the declared ideology at face value, eyes blinded to one of the great hoaxes of American political history.

The truth of the matter is that none of the foregoing is central to Reagan administration values. There is no revolution here, only a heist. And there is no ideology save the most base form of greed.

All the sturm and drang of the last five years has been directed primarily to making democracy safe for a relative handful of Americans who share the avaricious goals and puerile visions of their leader. There is probably no time when the course of American government has been so dramatically changed for the benefit of so few. And these few beneficiaries have the ethics and values of those who see the world through the window of their bank accounts.

We must continue to expect the Reaganistas to lie to us about this, but why, oh why, must the media insist in adopting the duplicitous rhetoric of this rapacious band of hustlers? Repeating lies nightly without skepticism, evidence, contradiction or context, is not objectivity; it is contributory negligence.

COUNTING THE DEAD

If one believes that murder is an indefensible tool of foreign and domestic policy, then the current furor over terrorism -- which is, quantitatively at least, one of the least destructive forms of political murder, reveals more than a little hypocracy.

Although the numbers are hard to come by, it would appear that Libya is, at worst, a piker in the murder field, lagging behind such a variegated assortment of countries as the United States, the Soviet Union, Iran, Iraq, El Salvador, Guatamala and Chile.

One of the great inadequacies of contemporary journalism is that it is terribly difficult to determine which are really the worst killer nations of the world. As the Libyan affair illustrates, the quantitative question does not particularly interest the press, which accepts the notion that political murder is all right as long as it's done in the name of a good cause. Since we don't like the Libyans at the moment, their crimes are heinous, whereas American support for murders by the Contras is considered merely a strategy question.

As close as I can count, the Libyans are being blamed for deaths still in the three-digit range, while America's culpability in Latin American murders is well into four figures. But as any good journalist knows, one 11-year-old American girl is worth a thousand Salvadorans or Nicaraguans any day.

Having stood with my family at the TWA counter at the Rome airport a few months back awaiting my tickets for Flight #841, I am not insensitive to the horrors of guerilla attacks, but I would feel much safer if the opposition to political murder and the terror it creates were not so selectively expressed. And safer still if the American government was not so deeply involved in other forms of the political murder it says it abhors.

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TRAVEL AGENTS, UNITE

The great worry about terrorism could be quickly subdued if we would turn our thoughts from the question of how to protect ourselves from unhappy Palestinians to figuring out how to make them less unhappy. We are paying the price for four decades of indifference to this latter matter and there is no evidence, despite the bravado, threats and technological gimicks, that the former course offers much hope.

In fact, we seem to be living in an anology to the Vietnam War, where American money, power and technology proved insufficient against zealotry and guerilla tactics. We are engaged in is an undeclared war against the Palestinians and, as in Vietnam, we appear to be losing.

While I can't think of any good reason to be at war with the Palestinians, I'll skip over that issue to deal with a less impassioned one: namely, that it isn't working. One of the tragedies of Vietnam was that long after it became apparent to even many initial advocates of intervention, pride and myopia in places of power kept Americans and Vietnamese dying until the evidence was so overwhelming that even the prideful and myopic had to accept it. Vietnam was not unique: one of the most banal stupidities of war is the death and destruction that occur between inevitability and its recognition.

So it is now in the Middle East. Once again, technology and money had been shown to be no match for the guerilla technique. We can rant about it and imply that the Palestinians should be using bombers and tanks and napalm like real men, but we can not stop them. In four decades it has only gotten worse.

The sane, the honorable — and if those won't suffice, then the practical, thing to do is to reach a settlement with the Palestinians. This means giving them the homeland they justly deserve. It means talking to their leaders, including Arafat, before they give up their own macho rhetoric. It means making the Israelis mad at us.

But it also means bringing peace, ending pointless death, and correcting a long-standing injustice.

I have small hope of such moves coming from the little men of Washington, but lately I have seen some light at the end of the tunnel, or to put it more in context, at the end of the runway.

The New York Times reports that following the TWA hijacking, 1.4 million Americans out of 6.5 million with foreign reservations changed their bookings. Sixty percent of these cancelled their bookings outright, 16% changed to destinations in the US. And travel agents tell of a signicant increase in bookings to such safe destinations as Australia and Alaska, not to mention, ironically, Soviet bloc countries.

Now this is the sort of message that does get through to Washington. So have heart and while we are waiting for recognition to catch up with inevitability, be kind to your stewardperson and your travel agent. They may be the last line of defense between you and World War III.

STRANGE HEROES

I must pause in my Reagan-bashing for a word of praise (I can't believe I'm writing this) for George Shultz, the man who single-handedly may have reduced the number of people to whom the Reagan administration is going to give polygraph tests by some 100,000. Shultz did this through the simply expedient of suggesting that he would resign if forced to be a participant in this modern day form of trial by water. By opposing the nefarious lie detectors, Shultz struck one blow for freedom; by publicly threatening to resign he struck

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another. The republic would be in much better shape if more public officials would use one of their few truly powerful weapons — namely the ability to cause an ungodly scene by quitting in anger or threatening to do so. I have a special section in my pantheon of clods for members of the cabinet who leave in disgust but hide the fact with sycophantic letters of resignation. More truth in quitting would do wonders for democracy.

In a way, even more wondrous is the word that the brand new secretary of Health and Human Services, Dr. Otis Bowen, who only arrived at the front lines of the Reagan revolution in December, has told the Office of Management and Budget to buzz off. He wrote a letter to that office's director, James Miller, that the 1987 budget "simply cuts too deeply into some programs."

Dr. Bowen went on: "This degree of prescription represents not only an inappropriate intrusion into my management discretion, but interferes with the department's ability to carry out its programmmatic responsibilities both efficiently and effectively."

He also said that he did not "condone micromanagement by OMB staff" and that he wanted a free hand in carrying out the president's policies without interference by the budget office.

•

I have come to suspect that there are no governments any more in the United States — only budget offices, so it bordered on the thrilling to learn of a cabinet officer who was willing to challenge OMB in such a fashion. To be sure, the word from Donald Regan's office was that Dr. Bowen's remarks were "inappropriate," and there is every possibility that Bowen will find himself privatized in the near future, but even those of us who think women and Nicaraguans should have freedom of choice should give at least a quick salute to Doc Bowen and George Shultz.

Eugene McCarthy

spy styles

The rash of spies, informers, defectors, and other varieties of traitors that have been publicly exposed in recent weeks and months is, if judged by the classical standards by which operators in this field have traditionally been judged, a rather common and motley lot.

There are the slight exceptions of Larry Wu-Tai Chin and the Soviet lover of Yurchenko, who bear marks of distinction — Chin because his reticence and strong loyalty to the Chinese lend a touch of class to his drama, and the latter because her sense of honor and propriety led her to the most dramatic of all forms of expression, suicide.

In the period surrounding World War II, there were standards to which spies, informers, and defectors conformed. If the espionage involved a first class power such as the United States, the spy would be expected to be moved by high ideological motives such as universal and perpetual peace, or, on the negative side, saving the world through mutual assured destruction, thus not letting one side or the other get a destruction advantage.

Russians who defected during this period usually gave a more limited ideological justification and were more likely to make their case a personal rejection of life in Russian, and of the inhibitions placed on their artistic expression. This was especially true of ballet dancers and musicians and an occasional poet. Russians did not defect in order to play hockey, or soccer, or to join the international ski circuit. Such defections were more likely among lesser communist and communist satellite nations.

The second level of spies and informers seemed to be marked especially by the British. In this level the motivation for the passing over

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of information was usually, or certainly very often, found to involve homosexual relationships. These relationships seemed to move the persons involved to rise above patriotic restraints.

Third-class countries might produce spies moved by the more acceptable sexual attractions in the heterosexual order, while in fourth-class countries spies and informers were moved by crass financial and materialistic considerations. The old standards no longer hold.

Russians now defect for material considerations, even for money, which may not be paid to them by a government directly, but realized through advances and royalties on books, and what they may be paid by the news media for public appearances. Defectors, like hostages, or former hostages, are quickly sought out by agents.

Homosexuality, having become more accepted, has lost its distinction and power in the world of international intrigue. The disease AIDS may drive it completely out of international affairs. Regular sex seems to continue to be effective, as in the case of the recent Russian defector, Mr. Yurchenko, who then re-defected. All of his turnings seemed to come to naught when the woman, a Russian, asserted (before her suicide) that she had been loved "by a spy, not a defector." Love, too, seems to have been involved to a degree in the case of the American woman who passed information to her Ghanian lover, and also in the case of Richard Miller, an FBI agent who is reported to have mixed sex and money in selling counter-intelligence to a Soviet woman with whom he was having an affair.

The other Americans whose behavior has been exposed seem to have been motivated by what had been classically reserved for citizens of fourth-class countries, that is, money or material goods.

The Walker clan seems to have been above or indifferent to ideological considerations, and looked only to the bottom line. Mr. Pelton, former communications specialist for the National Security Agency, evidently sold information to the Soviet Union without an ideological motivation, and Jonathan Jay Pollard, along with his wife, both linked with espionage for Israel, seem to be spies for hire.

The Pollard model suggests that spies may soon offer themselves, or be offered, by service companies. They may soon sell their services like Pinkertons agents, and we will become accustomed to spy agencies, just as we have detective agencies, which will, in turn, be quickly represented by television series that depict the topsy-turvey, dangerous but devil-may-care lifestyles of international spies-for-hire in the domestic manner of A-Team — Simon & Simon — or The Equalizer.

WORDWAYS

Chris De Luca

Kotor, Yugoslavia -- The spray-can of deodorant in my hosts' bathroom is labelled in four languages, all of them "Yugoslavian." Two are in Cyrillic ("Russian") letters and two in Roman (ours). Even for someone who can barely decipher Cyrillic, it's not hard to see that there's very little difference between the words--tiny variations on *telesni dezodorans*, which the dictionary gives as "body deodorant."

Now, in America, even language professionals get a distinct impression--almost like a received truth--that Yugoslavia's national standard is a single language called Serbo-Croatian. One notices courses in it, dictionaries of it, and translations from it. I ask my host, a language professional, about these four languages on the deodorant can.

"The first one is Serbian, this one here is Croatian, this is Slovenian, and ..." -- after a moment's puzzlement, he says, "Let's go ask Matina," his wife. "She's not from around here, she might know." Matina peers, thinks for a minute, and then says, with an air of certainty: *"Makedonski*-- Macedonian.

The vignette was worth a hundred pages of generalization on The Language Situation in Yugoslavia. If the differences between these languages are so tiny, why bother labeling a product four ways? Even if they weren't so similar, what's the point? The shampoo we used spoke only Croatian, and one of the TV

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channels only Serbian. Can we imagine a can of Rapid-Shave labeled in English, Spanish, Yiddish, and Soul? And why didn't my host, a professor of languages, instantly recognize all four "Yugoslavian" languages?

Multi-lingualism is fascinating, and Yugoslavia is perhaps the Western world's extreme case. In America there is a regular little cottage industry engaged in detailing and analyzing the fascinating problems Yugoslavs go through every day; it keeps the beans on the table for more than a few departments of Slavic and Linguistics. Nor does it hurt that Yugoslavia occupies the key (not to say unique) position of a Communist but non-aligned country. However, it can't really be said, even in all charity, that the meticulous tabulation of the professional Slavicists gives anything like the flash of insight provided by that one moment.

It's one thing to hear about Yugoslavia's fairly well-known situation -- 22.5 million people of *very* diverse nationalities and languages, cobbled into a country ever since the second of December, 1918. About the size of Oregon, the nation is divided into six relatively homogeneous republics, based on Slavic ethnic groups but split by religion (Islam, Catholicism) and regional pride. These six are Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia-Hercegovina, Montenegro, and Macedonia. But within Serbia are also two "autonomous provinces" of drastically different ethnicity -- Vojvodina, home of Yugoslavia's Hungarians, and Kosovo, center of her Albanians.

All these peoples have clamored for something more than the right to bring up their children in the language *they* were brought up in. They want to use it in letters to the editor as well as conversation with the butcher, in national conventions as well as at the dinner table. Up to that point, they are no different from minorities in France, Belgium, Sri Lanka, India -- all over the world -- who in recent years have gotten quite feisty about riding in the front of the language bus. It's the eternal tug-of-war between the necessity of national identity and loyalty to home and hearth, to something like a tribe - a tribe that may be culturally quite distinct from the Standard National Identity.

Even relatively homogeneous Americans can appreciate this feeling if they remember their own loyalty to neighborhood, home town, state, or school; or recall that William Faulkner professed to consider himself a Mississippian first and an American second; or that for many Southerners the Confederate flag is still *their* flag. Ethnically farther afield, the renaming of Alaska's Mt. McKinley, the nation's highest peak, as Mt. Denali, ought to remind us that "American" is no longer synonymous and coterminous with "WASP" and "English".

But Yugoslavia is -- at least for the Western world -- an extreme case. Ethnic loyalty is fiercer even than the central government's obvious need and resolve to unite Yugoslavia. People *think* of themselves as Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, and the like; one even hears identities not on some official charts, like "I'm Dalmatian." And what about the official charts? Since 1946, the Yugoslav national census has asked citizens to state their ethnic group. Because of these prior loyalties, the category "Yugoslav" didn't even exist until 1961. And in the most recent census, only 4.5% identified themselves as "Yugoslav." The rest placed themselves under 24 different headings. The Serbs represent the closest thing to a majority group at 36% of the population. We may choose to think of these identities as "subnational," but people in Yugoslavia obviously don't. Hence the four languages on the deodorant can.

Yugoslavia's variety of languages is a legacy of her history. Since prehistoric times she has been conquered and occupied, in part or entirely, by Illyrians, Greeks, Romans, Slavs, Franks, Venetians, and Austrians. Venice's domination of the northwest lasted nearly 400 years; the Austrian and Austro-Hungarian empires ruled for more than a century. This year we saw a curious result in the performance of a still-popular Yugoslav comedy of three centuries ago. In this play, which Yugoslavs cherish as something of their own, the characters speak macaronic hash of dog-German, dog-Italian, and various Serbo-Croatian dialects... and the audience laughs at all three.

These two vignettes together answer the second question, why our host didn't instantly recognize four out of four languages printed on a can. There are so many languages, dialects, and sub-dialects competing for full respectability that my bland question was like asking a Lake Wobegonite to tell a Virginia accent from a Georgia accent, or asking a

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Bostonian to distinguish East and West Texas speech the way Texans do.

Even in America, all these considerations are continually tabulated and summarized in journals, books, and dissertations. But in contemplating a can on a bathroom shelf in a summer house in a grove of pines near a beautiful seaside village in Yugoslavia, it all hits home.

CHUCK STONE

Smoke Warnings

The American Medical Association has got this thing all backwards.

Instead of a proposed ban on the advertising of all tobacco products, the AMA should have called for "accuracy in advertising" for cigarettes.

Something cogent and direct, like:

"Your chances of dying of lung cancer or heart disease are multiplied 10 times if you smoke enough cigarettes."

Or: "Smoking this pack of cigarettes puts you on a faster track to death."

Or: "Every time you light up a long cigarette, you close down a longer life."

Or: "Babies have a higher chance of dying before they are 5 if their mothers smoke during and after pregnancy."

Now, those are warnings!

But the latest "Surgeon General's Warning" for cigarette advertising doesn't say doodly.

If it did, more people would stop smoking.

Instead, they try to commit suicide.

Like it or not, smoking is a slow form of systematic suicide (but for those who enjoy it, a delightful pursuit of hedonism's heaven).

Hoping to decelerate that pursuit, the U.S. Public Health Service's Office on Smoking and Health came up with "four new and stronger health warnings" to be rotated every three months, as provided by the Comprehensive Smoking Education Act of 1984.

Compare theirs to my four suggested warnings above:

1. "Smoking causes lung cancer, heart disease, emphysema, and may complicate pregnancy."

2. "Smoking by pregnant women may result in fetal injury, premature birth and low birth rate."

3. "Quitting smoking now greatly reduces serious risks to your health."

4. "Cigarette smoke contains carbon monoxide."

All four are inferential. None establish any etiology to disproportionate death rates.

Furthermore, the fourth warning is a joke. Reminds me of the little kid who, when admonished by a grand-mother that masturbation causes blindness, asked if he could continue until he needed glasses.

Most smokers believe they'll need glasses before they die of cancer.

Just as most people don't bother to dissect a complicated scientific warning.

They need the same simplified cautions on labels that try to prevent prescription drug abuse.

And that is the reasoning behind the 271,000-member AMA's near-unanimous vote by its House of Delegates to extend the current tobacco ad ban on television and radio to the print media.

"[Smoking] is the number-one health problem in this country," recently declared Dr. Robert E. McAfee, a Portland, Maine, surgeon and member of the AMA House of Delegates.

But two equally large problems emerge from the AMA's Lethality of Tobacco Manifesto:

1. The strong possibility that it violates the First Amendment.

2. The mobilized opposition by powerful economic and legal forces — the Tobacco Institute, the American Newspaper Publishers Association, the Magazine Publishers Association, the American Advertising Federation and the American Civil Liberties Union.

Advertising is the publisher's sinew of survival.

But it's also a valuable exercise in free speech and interstate commerce.

As long as a product is legal, it should enjoy the right to advertise.

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To deny the right to advertise a legally sanctioned product is to constrain constitutional freedoms.

That should be as a true for television and radio as it is for the print media, but it's not.

But in the meantime, the tobacco industry has succeeded in chilling constitutional freedoms through its own subtle censorship campaign.

According to a brilliantly researched story by Washington Post reporter Susan Okie, magazines have responded to the lure of the tobacco industry's $2.6 billion advertising budget by downplaying, downgrading and even censoring critical stories about smoking.

Magazine publishers are intimidated by the loss of all that ad revenue.

I don't blame them.

If I were a publisher, I wouldn't want to lose any advertising and would take all the legal advertising I could get.

Then, once a year, I'd warn my readers that their death wish was succeeding whenever they smoked cigarettes.

Philadelphia Daily News

SANCTUARY
an american tradition

Nancy Berneking

Americans who are part of the sanctuary movement have welcomed, cared for, and protected refugees fleeing violence and persecution in El Salvador and Guatemala for over three years.

They have given food, clothing, shelter, legal assistance and medical aid to these Central American victims of repression, and in the process they have found themselves being persecuted by the United States government for acting "illegally."

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The sanctuary movement has grown out of strong religious traditions; the concept itself goes back thousands of years in the Judeo-Christian heritage. Through the Torah and the Bible, Jews and Christians learn, "When a stranger resides with you in your land, you shall not do him wrong," and "You shall love your neighbor as yourself." If they are to be faithful, sanctuary workers find they must act to help their brothers and sisters in need.

We find many examples of sanctuary as part of our moral tradition in American history as well. The original colonies were first established as sanctuaries for Europeans fleeing religious persecution, and the native people willingly assisted those refugees. We celebrate this sanctuary every year on Thanksgiving day.

Americans who found the nineteenth - century Fugitive Slave Act morally abhorrent helped conquer slavery with the sanctuary of the underground railroad. And citizens of Europe were urged by President Franklin D. Roosevelt to ignore their man-made laws by sheltering Jews fleeing Nazism.

The United States gave legal status to the moral tradition of welcoming the stranger - honored by the Statue of Liberty - when the Senate approved international treaties concerning refugees. The 1949 Geneva Accords and the 1967 United Nations Protocol on the Status of Refugees require us as a nation never to return civilians to a war which they have fled, and to give safe haven to those fleeing persecution. Congress incorporated international refugee law into domestic law by passing the Refugee Act of 1980.

With the Nuremberg Principles following World War II, we agreed that citizens of a country must obey laws such as these even when their governments refuse to do so.

If the sanctuary ministry for Central Americans is within established American religious and moral traditions, and if refugee protection is required by United States laws, why does the U.S. government accuse sanctuary workers of acting illegally? The answer is in the victims themselves.

In the last six years over 60,000 people have been killed in El Salvador and Guatemala. Torture, disappearances, and other human rights abuses are widespread and have been well-documented by internationally respected human-rights organizations such as Amnesty International and Americas Watch. Bombing of the civilian population in El Salvador during the summer months approached levels seen during the Vietnam War, and genocide is a word often used to describe the treatment of indigenous Guatemalans by their government.

Those who are fleeing generally seek only a place to stay until it is safe for them to return home. Unfortunately, the current administration has chosen to view these victims simply as folks looking for jobs and therefore "illegal aliens" not worthy of assistance.

In making this choice the administration ignores United Nations declarations identifying these people as refugees who must be helped. It ignores international opinion and the actions of friends and allies who refuse to deport these Central Americans. It ignores evidence that those deported are tortured and murdered, as documented by refugee assistance organizations such as the Center for Immigrants' Rights. It ignores Congress which has passed a resolution asking that these refugees be allowed to stay here until it is safe to go home. And it ignores U.S. citizens who have worked for years through the courts to bring relief to Central American refugees.

As more and more Central American refugees are able to tell their horror stories of torture, disappearances, bombing, death squads, rape and mutilation, more and more Americans will be moved to act. Citizens of the United States have long been proud of their high moral and legal standards.

Nancy Berneking is coordinator of a sanctuary project in Minnesota.
Reprinted from the Minnesota PIRG publication, State Watch.

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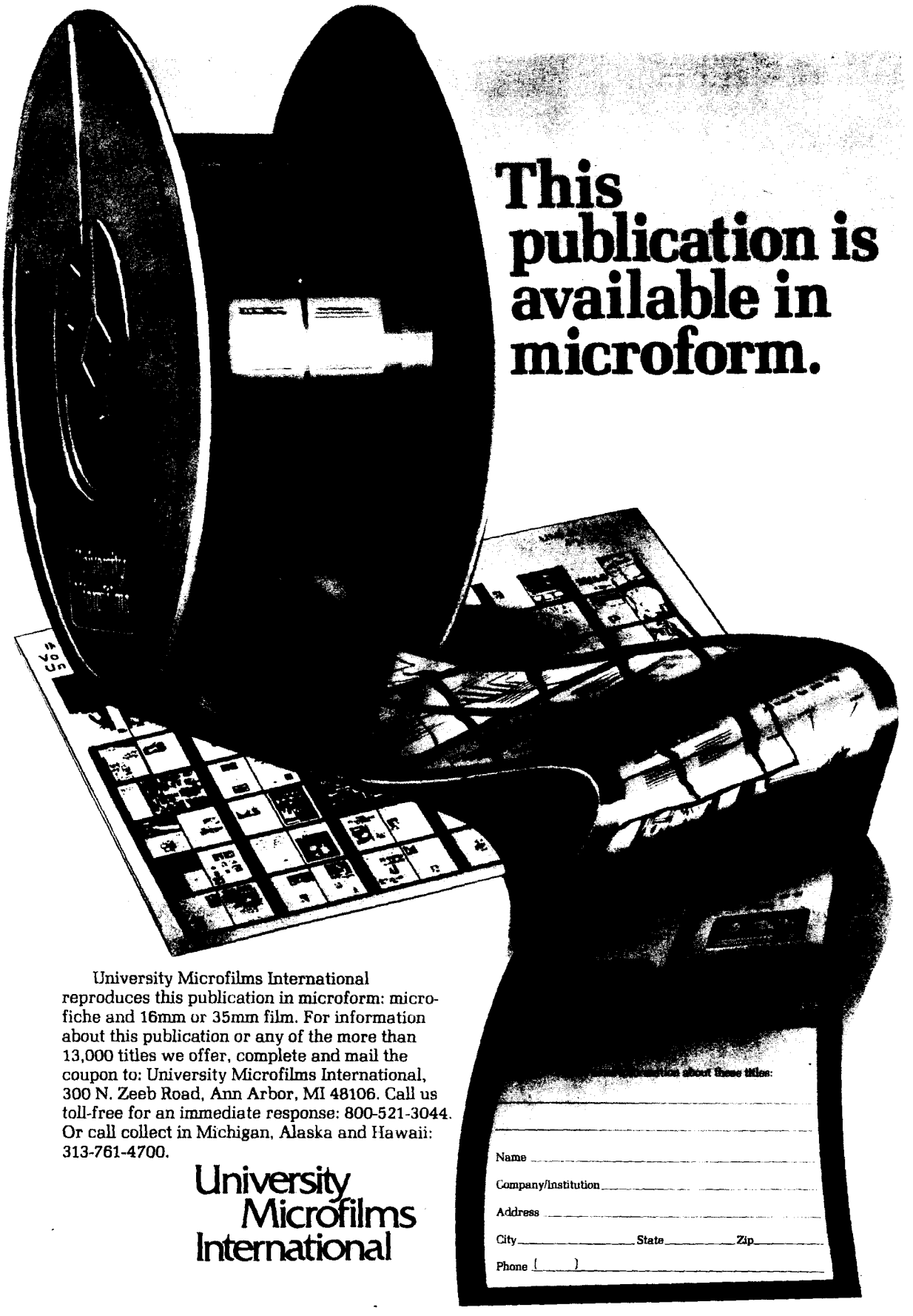

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